THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

VOL. VII.

Strahan and Prefton, Printeza-Street, London.

FOR RELEASE

Not to be taken out THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

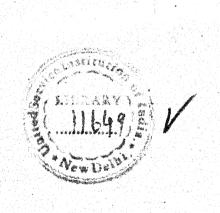
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IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

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PREFACE.

NOW discharge my promise, and complete my design of writing the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, both in the West and the East. The whole period extends from the age of Trajan and the Antonines, to the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second: and includes a review of the Crusades, and the state of Rome during the middle ages. Since the publication of the first * volume, twelve years have elapsed; twelve years, according to my wish, of health, of leifure, and of perseverance." I may now congratulate my deliverance from a long and laborious fervice, and my fatisfaction will be pure and perfect, if the public favour should be extended to the conclusion of my work.

^{*} Alluding to the quarto edition, in which fize the work was originally published. It A 3

It was my first intention to have collected, under one view, the numerous authors of every age and language, from whom I have derived the materials of this hiftory; and I am still convinced that the apparent oftentation would be more than compensated by If I have renounced this idea, if I real ufe. have declined an undertaking which had obtained the approbation of a master-artist*, my excuse may be found in the extreme difficulty of affigning a proper measure to such a cata-A naked lift of names and editions logue. would not be fatisfactory either to myself or my readers; the characters of the principal Authors of the Roman and Byzantine History have been occasionally connected with the events which they describe; a more copious and critical enquiry might indeed deferve, but it would demand, an elaborate volume, which might swell by degrees into a general library of historical writers. For the present I shall content myself with renewing my ferious protestation, that I have always endeavoured to draw from the fountain-head; that my curiofity, as well as a fense of duty, has always urged me to fludy the originals; and that, if they have

fome-

^{*} See Dr. Robertson's preface to his History of America.

fometimes eluded my fearch, I have carefully marked the fecondary evidence, on whose faith a passage or a fact were reduced to depend.

I shall soon revisit the banks of the lake of Lausanne, a country which I have known and loved from my early youth. Under a mild government, amidst a beauteous landskip, in a life of leifure and independence, and among a people of eafy and elegant manners, I have enjoyed, and may again hope to enjoy, the varied pleasures of retirement and fociety. But I shall ever glory in the name and character of an Englishman: I am proud of my birth in a free and enlightened country; and the approbation of that country is the best and most honourable reward of my labours. Were I ambitious of any other patron than the Public, I would inscribe this work to a Statesman, who, in a long, a ftormy, and at length an unfortunate administration, had many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy: who has retained, in his fall from power, many faithful and difinterested friends; and who, under the pressure of severe infirmity, enjoys the lively vigour of his mind, and the felicity of his incomparable temper. LORD NORTH will permit me to express the feelings

feelings of friendship in the language of truth: but even truth and friendship should be filent, if he still dispensed the favours of the crown.

In a remote folitude, vanity may still whisper in my ear, that my readers, perhaps, may enquire, whether, in the conclusion of the prefent work, I am now taking an everlasting They shall hear all that I know farewell. myfelf, all that I could reveal to the most intimate friend. The motives of action or filence are now equally balanced; nor can I pronounce in my most fecret thoughts, on which I cannot fide the scale will preponderate. diffemble that Six ample Quartos must have tried, and may have exhausted, the indulgence of the public; that in the repetition of fimilar attempts, a fuccessful author has much more to lose than he can hope to gain; that I am now defcending into the vale of years; and that the most respectable of my countrymen, the men whom I aspire to imitate, have refigned the pen of history about the same period of their lives. Yet I consider that the annals of ancient and modern times may afford many rich and interesting subjects; that I am ftill poffessed of health and leisure; that by the practice of writing, some skill and facility must be be acquired; and that, in the ardent pursuit of truth and knowledge, I am not conscious of decay. To an active mind, indolence is more painful than labour; and the first months of my liberty will be occupied and amused in the excursions of curiosity and taste. By such temptations. I have been fometimes feduced from the rigid duty even of a pleafing and voluntary talk: but my time will now be my own; and in the use or abuse of independence, I shall no longer fear my own reproaches or those of my friends. I am fairly entitled to a year of jubilee: next fummer and the following winter will rapidly pass away; and experience only can determine whether I shall still prefer the freedom and variety of study to the defign and composition of a regular work, which animates, while it confines, the daily application of the Author. Caprice and accident may influence my choice; but the dexterity of felf-love will contrive to applaud either active industry, or philosophic repose.

Downing-Street, May 1, 1788.

P.S. I shall embrace this opportunity of introducing two verbal remarks, which have not conveniently offered themselves to my notice. 1. As often as I use the definitions of beyond the Alps, the Rhine, the Danube, &c. I generally suppose myself at Rome, and afterwards at Constantinople; without observing whether this relative geography may agree with the local, but variable, fituation of the reader, or the historian. 2. In proper names of foreign, and especially of Oriental origin, it should be always our aim to express in our English version, a faithful copy of the original. But this rule, which is founded on a just regard to uniformity and truth, must often be relaxed; and the exceptions will be limited or enlarged by the custom of the language and the taste of the interpreter. Our alphabets may be often defective: a harsh found, an uncouth spelling, might offend the ear or the eye of our countrymen; and fome words, notoriously corrupt, are fixed, and, as it were, naturalized in the vulgar tongue. The prophet Mahommed can no longer be stripped of the famous, though improper, appellation of Mahomet: the well known cities of Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo, would almost be loft in the strange descriptions of Haleb, Damashk, and Al Cahira: the titles and offices of the Otto-14

man

man empire are fashioned by the practice of three hundred years; and we are pleafed to blend the three Chinese monofyllables, Con-fu-tzee, in the respectable name of Confucius, or even to adopt the Portuguese corruption of Mandarin. But I would vary the use of Zoroaster and Zerdusht, as I drew my information from Greece or Persia: fince our connection with India, the genuine Timour is reftored to the throne of Tamerlane: our most correct writers have retrenched the Al, the fuperfluous article, from the Koran; and we escape an ambiguous termination, by adopting Moslem instead of Musulman, in the plural number. thefe, and in a thouland examples, the shades of distinction are often minute; and I can feel, where I cannot explain, the motives of my choice.

^{**} At the end of the Hiftory, the reader will find a General Index to the whole Work, which has been drawn up by a person frequently employed in works of this nature.

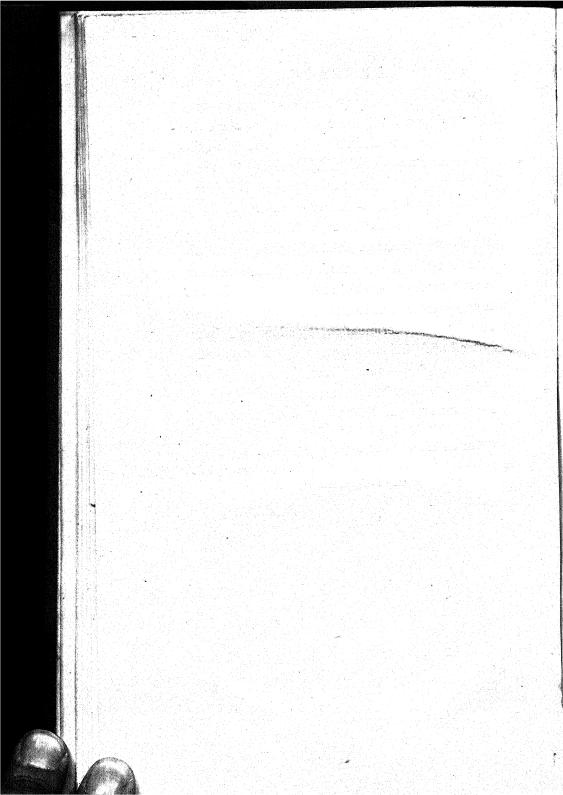


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V.2. VOLATION COPINDIA.

THE

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ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Zeno and Anastasius, Emperors of the East.—Birth, Education, and first Exploits of Theodoric the Ostrogoth.—His Invasion and Conquest of Italy.—The Gothic Kingdom of Italy.—State of the West.—Military and Civil Government.—The Senator Boethius.—Last Acts and Death of Theodoric.

A FTER the fall of the Roman Empire in CHAP. the West, an interval of fifty years, till the memorable reign of Justinian, is faintly marked by the obscure names and imperfect annals of 476-527. Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin, who successively ascended the throne of Constantinople. During the same period, Italy revived and sourished under the government of a Gothic king, who might vol. vii.

C H A P. have deserved a statue among the best and bravest XXXIX. of the ancient Romans.

Birth and education of Theodoric,

A. D. 455-475.

Theodoric the Oftrogoth, the fourteenth in lineal descent of the royal line of the Amali, was born in the neighbourhood of Vienna2 two years after the death of Attila. A recent victory had restored the independence of the Ostrogoths; and the three brothers, Walamir, Theodemir, and Widimir, who ruled that warlike nation with united counfels, had feparately pitched their habitations in the fertile though defolate province of Pannonia. The Huns still threatened their revolted subjects, but their hafty attack was repelled by the fingle forces of Walamir, and the news of his victory reached the diftant camp of his brother in the fame auspicious moment that the favourite concubine of Theodemir was delivered of a fon and heir. In the eighth year of his age, Theodoric was reluctantly yielded by his father to the public interest, as the pledge of an alliance which Leo, Emperor of the East, had consented to purchase by an annual fubfidy of three hundred pounds of gold. The royal hoftage was educated at Conftantinople with care and tenderness. His body

Jornandes (derebus Geticis, c. 13, 14. p. 629, 630. edit. Grot.) has drawn the pedigree of Theodoric from Gapt, one of the Anses or Demigods, who lived about the time of Domitian. Cassidorius, the first who celebrates the royal race of the Amali (Variar. viii. 5. ix. 25. x. 2. xi. 1.), reckons the grandson of Theodoric as the xviith in descent. Peringsicild (the Swedish commentator of Cochlœus. Vit. Theodoric. p. 271, &c. Stockholm, 1699,) labours to connect this genealogy with the legends or traditions of his native country.

² More correctly on the banks of the lake Pelfo (Nicufiedler-fee) near Carnuntum, almost on the same spot where Marcus Antoninus composed his meditations (Jornandes, c. 52. p. 659. Severin. Pannonia Illustrata, p. 22. Cellarius. Geograph. Antiq. tom. i. p. 350.)

was formed to all the exercises of war, his mind CHAP. was expanded by the habits of liberal conversa- XXXIX. tion; he frequented the schools of the most skilful mafters; but he disdained or neglected the arts of Greece, and so ignorant did he always remain of the first elements of science, that a rude mark was contrived to represent the fignature of the illiterate King of Italy3. As foon as he had attained the age of eighteen, he was reftored to the wifnes of the Oftrogoths, whom the Emperor aspired to gain by liberality and confidence. Walamir had fallen in battle; the youngest of the brothers, Widimir, had led away into Italy and Gaul an army of Barbarians, and the whole nation acknowledged for their king the father of Theodoric. His ferocious fubjects admired the strength and statue of their young prince4; and he foon convinced them that he had not degenerated from the valour of his anceftors. At the head of fix thousand volunteers he fecretly left the camp in quest of adventures, descended the Danube as far as Singidunum or Belgrade, and foon returned to his father with the spoils of a Sarmatian king whom he had vanquished and slain. Such triumphs, however, were

³ The four first letters of his name (ΘΕΟΔ) were inscribed on a gold plate, and when it was fixed on the paper, the king drew his pen through the intervals (Anonym. Valefian. ad Calcem Amm. Marcellin. p. 722.) This authentic fact, with the testimony of Procopius, or at least of the contemporary Goths (Gothic. l. i. c. 2. p. 311.), far outweighs the vague praises of Ennodius (Sirmond. Opera, tom. i. p. 1596.) and Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 112.),

⁴ Statura est quæ resignet proceritate regnantem (Ennodius, p. 1614.). The Bishop of Pavia (I mean the ecclesiastic who wished to be a bishop) then proceeds to celebrate the complexion, eyes, hands, &c. of his fovereign.

THE DECLINE AND FALL

XXXIX.

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CHAP. productive only of fame, and the invincible Oftrogoths were reduced to extreme diffrefs by the want of clothing and food. They unanimously resolved to desert their Pannonian encampments, and boldly to advance into the warm and wealthy neighbourhood of the Byzantine court, which already maintained in pride and luxury fo many bands of confederate Goths. After proving by some acts of hostility that they could be dangerous, or at least troublesome enemies, the Oftrogoths fold at a high price their reconciliation and fidelity, accepted a donative of lands and money, and were entrufted with the defence of the lower Danube, under the command of Theodoric, who fucceeded after his father's death to the hereditary throne of the Amali 5.

The reign of Zeno, Feb.

Apr. 9.

An hero, descended from a race of kings, must have despised the base Isaurian who was invested 474-491. with the Roman purple, without any endowments of mind or body, without any advantages of royal birth, or superior qualifications. After the failure of the Theodofian line, the choice of Pulcheria and of the senate might be justified in some meafure by the characters of Martian and Leo, but the latter of these princes confirmed and dishonoured his reign by the perfidious murder of Afpar and his fons, who too rigorously exacted the debt of gratitude and obedience. The inheritance of Leo and of the East was peaceably

⁵ The flate of the Oftrogoths, and the first years of Theodoric are found in Jornandes (c. 52-56. p. 689-696.) and Malchus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 78-80), who erroneously styles him the son of Walamir.

devolved on his infant grandfon, the fon of his CHAP. daughter Ariadne; and her Isaurian husband, the XXXIX. fortunate Trascalisseus, exchanged that barbarous found for the Grecian appellation of Zeno. After the decease of the elder Leo, he approached with unnatural respect the throne of his son, humbly received, as a gift, the fecondrank in the empire, and foon excited the public fuspicion on the fudden and premature death of his young colleague, whose life could no longer promote the fuccess of his ambition. But the palace of Conftantinople was ruled by female influence, and agitated by female passions: and Verina, the widow of Leo, claiming his empire as her own, pronounced a fentence of deposition against the worthless and ungrateful fervant on whom she alone had bestowed the sceptre of the East 6. As foon as fhe founded a revolt in the ears of Zeno, he fled with precipitation into the mountains of Isauria, and her brother Basilifcus, already infamous by his African expedition, was unanimously proclaimed by the servile senate. But the reign of the usurper was short and turbulent. Bafilifcus prefumed to affaffinate the lover of his fifter; he dared to offend the lover of his wife, the vain and infolent Harmatius, who, in the midft of Afiatic luxury, affected the drefs, the demeanour, and the furname of Achilles 3. By the conspiracy of the malecontents, Zeno was re-

Theophanes (p.111.) inferts a copy of her facred letters to the provinces: 15 ε ότι βασιλειον ημετερον εςι . . . και ότι προχειρησαμεθα βασιλεια Τρασκαλλισαίον, &c. Such female pretentions would have aftonished the flaves of the first Cæsars.

⁷ Vol. vi. p. 201 - 204.

⁸ Suidas, tom. i. p. 332, 333. edit. Kufter.

CHAP. called from exile; the armies, the capital, the per-XXXIX., fon of Bafilifcus, were betrayed; and his whole family was condemned to the long agony of cold and hunger by the inhuman conqueror, who wanted courage to encounter or to forgive his enemies. The haughty spirit of Verina was still incapable of fubmission or repose. She provoked the enmity of a favourite general, embraced his cause as soon as he was difgraced, created a new emperor in Syria and Egypt, raifed an army of seventy thousand men, and persisted to the last moment of her life in a fruitless rebellion, which, according to the fashion of the age, had been predicted by Christian hermits and Pagan magicians. While the East was afflicted by the passions of Verina, her daughter Ariadne was diftinguished by the female virtues of mildness and fidelity; she followed her husband in his exile, and after his refloration she implored his clemency in favour of her mother. On the decease of Zeno, Ariadne, the daughter, the mother, and the widow of an emperor, gave her hand and the Imperial title to 491-518. Anastasius, an aged domestic of the palace, who furvived his elevation above twenty-feven years, and whose character is attested by the acclamation of the people, "Reign as you have livedo!"

Of Anaftafius. A.D. Apr. 11. July 8.

> ⁹ The contemporary histories of Malchus and Candidus are lost; but fome extracts or fragments have been faved by Photius (lxxviii. lxxix. p.100-102.), Conftantine Porphyrogenitus (Excerpt. Leg. p.78-97.), and in various articles of the Lexicon of Suidas. The Chronicle of Marcellinus (Imago Historiæ) are originals for the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; and I must acknowledge, almost for the last time, my obligations to the large and accurate collections of Tillemont (Hift. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 472-652.).

> > Whatever

Whatever fear or affection could beflow, was CHAP. profufely lavished by Zeno on the King of the XXXIX. Oftrogoths; the rank of patrician and conful, the Service command of the Palatine troops, an equestrian and revolt flatue, a treasure in gold and filver of many thou-doric, fand pounds, the name of fon, and the promife of a rich and honourable wife. As long as Theodoric condescended to serve, he supported with courage and fidelity the cause of his benefactor: his rapid march contributed to the restoration of Zeno: and in the second revolt, the Walamirs, as they were called, purfued and pressed the Asiatic rebels, till they left an eafy victory to the Imperial troops .. But the faithful fervant was fuddenly converted into a formidable enemy, who fpread the flames of war from Constantinople to the Adriatic; many flourishing cities were reduced to ashes, and the agriculture of Thrace was almost extirpated by the wanton cruelty of the Goths, who deprived their captive peafants of the right hand that guided the plough". On fuch occafions. Theodoric fuftained the loud and specious reproach of difloyalty, of ingratitude, and of infatiate avarice, which could be only excused by the hard necessity of his situation. He reigned.

of Theo-

10 In ipfis congressionis tuæ foribus cessit invasor, cum profugo per te sceptra redderentur de falutæ dubitanti. Ennodius then proceeds (p. 1596, 1597. tom. i. Sirmond.) to transport his hero (on a flying dragon?) into Æthiopia, beyond the tropic of Cancer. The evidence of the Valefian Fragment (p. 717.), Liberatus (Brev. Eutych. c. 25. p. 118.), and Theophanes (p. 112.), is more fober and rational.

[&]quot;This cruel practice is specially imputed to the Triarian Goths. less barbarous, as it should seem, than the Walamirs: but the son of Theodemir, is charged with the ruin of many Roman cities (Malchus Excerpt. Leg. p. 95.).

CHAP, not as the monarch, but as the minister of a ferocious people, whose spirit was unbroken by slavery, and impatient of real or imaginary infults. Their poverty was incurable: fince the most liberal donatives were foon diffipated in wafteful luxury, and the most fertile estates became barren in their hands; they despised, but they envied, the laborious provincials; and when their fubfiftence had failed, the Oftrogoths embraced the familiar resources of war and rapine. It had been the wish of Theodoric (such at least was his declaration), to lead a peaceful, obscure, obedient life, on the confines of Scythia, till the Byzantine court, by splendid and fallacious promifes, feduced him to attack a confederate tribe of Goths, who had been engaged in the party of Bafilifcus. He marched from his station in Mæsia. on the folemn affurance that before he reached Adrianople, he should meet a plentiful convoy of provisions, and a reinforcement of eight thoufand horse and thirty thousand foot, while the legions of Asia were encamped at Heraclea to fecond his operations. These measures were difappointed by mutual jealoufy. As he advanced into Thrace, the fon of Theodemir found an inhofpitable folitude, and his Gothic followers, with an heavy train of horses, of mules, and of waggons, were betrayed by their guides among the rocks and precipices of Mount Sondis, where he was affaulted by the arms and invectives of Theodoric the fon of Triarius. From a neighbouring height, his artful rival harangued the camp of the Walamirs, and branded their leader with the oppro-

opprobrious names of child, of madman, of per- CHAP. jured traitor, the enemy of his blood and nation. XXXIX. " Are you ignorant," exclaimed the fon of Triarius, "that it is the conftant policy of the " Romans to deftroy the Goths by each other's " fwords? Are you infensible that the victor in "this unnatural contest will be exposed, and " juftly exposed, to their implacable revenge? "Where are those warriors my kinsmen and thy " own, whose widows now lament that their " lives were facrificed to thy rash ambition? "Where is the wealth which thy foldiers pof-" fessed when they were first allured from their " native homes to inlift under thy flandard? "Each of them was then mafter of three or four " horses; they now follow thee on foot like " flaves, through the defarts of Thrace; those " men who were tempted by the hope of measur-" ing gold with a bushel, those brave men who " are as free and as noble as thyself." A language fo well fuited to the temper of the Goths, excited clamour and discontent; and the son of Theodemir, apprehensive of being left alone, was compelled to embrace his brethren, and to imitate the example of Roman perfidy 12.

In every flate of his fortune, the prudence and He underfirmness of Theodoric were equally conspicuous; takes the

He undertakes the conquest of Italy, A. D. 489.

Jornandes (c. 56, 57. p. 696.) displays the services of Theodoric, confesses his rewards, but dissembles his revolt, of which such curious details have been preserved by Malchus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 78—97.) Marcellinus, a domestic of Justinian, under whose ivth consulship (A.D. 534.) he composed his Chronicle (Scaliger, Thesaurus Temporum, P. ii. p. 34—57.), betrays his prejudice and passion: in Græcian debacchantem... Zenonis munificentia pene pacatus beneficiis... nunquam satiatus, &c.

whether

CHAP. whether he threatened Conftantinople at the XXXIX., head of the confederate Goths, or retreated with a faithful band to the mountains and sea-coast of Epirus. At length the accidential death of the fon of Triarius 13 destroyed the balance which the Romans had been fo anxious to preferve, the whole nation acknowledged the fupremacy of the Amali, and the Byzantine court fubfcribed an ignominious and oppressive treaty 14. The fenate had already declared, that it was necessary to choose a party among the Goths, fince the public was unequal to the support of their united forces; a subsidy of two thousand pounds of gold, with the ample pay of thirteen thousand men, were required for the least considerable of their armies15; and the Isaurians, who guarded not the empire but the emperor, enjoyed besides the privilege of rapine, an annual penfion of five thousand pounds. The fagacious mind of Theodoric foon perceived that he was odious to the Romans, and fuspected by the Barbarians; he understood the popular murmur, that his fubjects were exposed in their frozen huts to intolerable hardships, while their king was dissolved in the luxury of Greece, and he prevented the painful alternative of encountering the Goths, as the champion, or of leading them to the field as the enemy, of Zeno. Embracing an enterprife worthy of his courage and ambition, Theodoric

addreffed

¹³ As he was riding in his own camp, an unruly horse threw him against the point of a spear which hung before a tent, or was fixed on a waggon (Marcellin in Chron. Evagrius, l. iii. c. 25.).

¹⁴ See Malchus (p. 91.) and Evagrius (l. iii. c. 35.). 15 Malchus, p. 85. In a fingle action, which was decided by the skill and discipline of Sabinian, Theodoric could lose 5000 men.

addressed the emperor in the following words: CHAP. "Although your fervant is maintained in afflu- XXXIX. " ence by your liberality, graciously listen to the " wishes of my heart! Italy, the inheritance of " your predecessors, and Rome itself the head " and mistress of the world, now fluctuate under " the violence and oppression of Odoacer the " mercenary. Direct me, with my national " troops, to march against the tyrant. If I " fall, you will be relieved from an expensive " and troublesome friend: if, with the Divine " permission, I succeed, I shall govern in your " name, and to your glory, the Roman fenate, " and the part of the republic delivered from " flavery by my victorious arms." The propofal of Theodoric was accepted, and perhaps, had been fuggested, by the Byzantine court. But the forms of the commission or grant, appear to have been expressed with a prudent ambiguity, which might be explained by the event; and it was left doubtful, whether the conqueror of Italy should reign as the lieutenant, the vaffal, or the ally of the Emperor of the East 16.

The reputation both of the leader and of the His march. war diffused an universal ardour; the Walamirs were multiplied by the Gothic swarms already engaged in the fervice, or feated in the provinces of the empire; and each bold Barbarian, who had heard of the wealth and beauty of Italy, was impatient to feek, through the most perilous adven-

¹⁵ Jornandes (c. 57. p. 696, 697.) has abridged the great history of Caffiodorius. See, compare, and reconcile, Procopius (Gothic I. i. c. i.), the Valesian Fragment (p. 718.), Theophanes (p. 113.), and Marcellinus (in Chron.).

CHAP. tures, the possession of such enchanting objects. The march of Theodoric must be considered as the emigration of an entire people; the wives and childern of the Goths, their aged parents, and most precious effects, were carefully transported; and fome idea may be formed of the heavy baggage that now followed the camp, by the loss of two thousand waggons, which had been sustained in a fingle action in the war of Epirus. their subsistence, the Goths depended on the magazines of corn which was ground in portable mills by the hands of their women; on the milk and flesh of their flocks and herds; on the casual produce of the chace, and upon the contributions which they might impose on all who should presume to dispute the passage, or to resuse their friendly affiftance. Notwithstanding these precautions, they were exposed to the danger, and almost to the distress of famine, in a march of feven hundred miles, which had been undertaken in the depth of a rigorous winter. Since the fall of the Roman power, Dacia and Pannonia no longer exhibited the rich prospect of populous cities, well cultivated fields, and convenient highways: the reign of barbarism and defolation was reftored, and the tribes of Bulgarians, Gepidæ, and Sarmatians, who had occupied the vacant province, were prompted by their native fierceness, or the folicitations of Odoacer, to refift the progress of his enemy. In many obscure though bloody battles, Theodoric fought and vanquished; till at length, furmounting every obstacle by skilful conduct and perfevering

persevering courage, he descended from the Julian CHAP. Alps, and difplayed his invincible banners on the XXXIX. confines of Italy 17.

Odoacer, a rival not unworthy of his arms, had The three already occupied the advantageous and well- defeats of known post of the river Sontius near the ruins of A.D. 489. Aquileia, at the head of a powerful hoft, whose Aug. 28. independent kings 18 or leaders difdained the A.D. 490. duties of subordination and the prudence of de- August. lays. No fooner had Theodoric granted a fhort repose and refreshment to his wearied cavalry, than he boldly attacked the fortifications of the enemy; the Oftrogoths shewed more ardour to acquire than the mercenaries to defend, the lands of Italy; and the reward of the first victory was the possession of the Venetian province as far as the walls of Verona. In the neighbourhood of that city, on the steep banks of the rapid Adige, he was opposed by a new army reinforced in its numbers, and not impaired in its courage: the contest was more obstinate, but the event was still more decifive; Odoacer fled to Ravenna, Theodoric advanced to Milan, and the vanquished troops faluted their conqueror with loud acclamations of respect and fidelity. But their want either of conftancy or of faith, foon exposed him to the most imminent danger; his vanguard, with feveral Gothic counts which had been rafhly

¹⁷ Theodoric's march is supplied and illustrated by Ennodius (p. 1598 -1602), when the bombast of the oration is translated into the language of common fense.

¹⁸ Tot reges, &c. (Ennodius, p. 1602.). We must recollect how much the royal title was multiplied and degraded, and that the mercenaries of Italy were the fragments of many tribes and nations.

CHAP. entrusted to a deferter, was betrayed and destroyed near Faenza by his double treachery; Odoacer again appeared mafter of the field, and the invader, strongly entrenched in his camp of Pavia, was reduced to folicit the aid of a kindred nation, the Vifigoths of Gaul. In the course of this history, the most voracious appetite for war will be abundantly fatiated; nor can I much lament that our dark and imperfect materials do not afford a more ample narrative of the diftress of Italy, and of the fierce conflict, which was finally decided by the abilities, experience, and valour of the Gothic king. Immediately before the battle of Verona, he visited the tent of his mother, and fifter, and requested, that on a day, the most illustrious festival of his life, they would adorn him with the rich garments which they had worked with their own hands. "Our glory," faid he " is mutual and infeparable. You are "known to the world as the mother of Theo-"doric; and it becomes me to prove that I am the " genuine offspring of those heroes from whom "I claim my descent." The wife or concubine of Theodemir was inspired with the spirit of the German matrons, who esteemed their son's honour far above their fafety; and it is reported. that in a desperate action, when Theodoric himfelf was hurried along by the torrent of a flying crowd, fhe boldly met them at the entrance

¹⁹ See Ennodius, p. 1603, 1604. Since the orator, in the king's prefence, could mention and praise his mother, we may conclude that the magnanimity of Theodoric was not hurt by the yulgar reproaches of concubine and baffard.

of the camp, and, by her generous reproaches, CHAP. drove them back on the fwords of the enemy 20. XXXIX.

From the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, His capitu-Theodoric reigned by the right of conquest: the lation and Vandal ambaffadors furrendered the island of Si- A. D. 493. cily, as a lawful appendage of his kingdom; and March 5. he was accepted as the deliverer of Rome by the fenate and people, who had shut their gates against the flying usurper 21. Ravenna alone, secure in the fortifications of art and nature, still fustained a siege of almost three years; and the daring fallies of Odoacer carried flaughter and difmay into the Gothic camp. At length, deftitute of provisions and hopeless of relief, that unfortunate monarch yielded to the groans of his fubjects and the clamours of his foldiers. A treaty of peace was negociated by the bishop of Ravenna; the Oftrogoths were admitted into the city, and the hostile kings confented, under the fanction of an oath, to rule with equal and undivided authority the provinces of Italy. The event of fuch an agreement may be eafily fore-After some days had been devoted to the femblance of joy and friendship, Odoacer, in the midst of a solemn banquet, was stabbed by the hand, or at least by the command, of his rival. Secret and effectual orders had been previously

This anecdote is related on the modern but respectable authority of Sigonius (op. tom. i. p. 580. De Occident. Imp. l. xv.): his words are curious - "Would you return?" &c. She prefented, and almost displayed the original recess.

Hift. Miscell. l. xv. a Roman history from Janus to the 19th century, an Epitome of Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, and Theophanes, which Muratori has published from a MS. in the Ambrosian library (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. p. 100.).

снаР. dispatched; the faithless and rapacious mercenaries, at the same moment, and without resistance, were univerfally maffacred; and the royalty of Theodoric was proclaimed by the Goths, with the tardy, reluctant, ambiguous confent of the Emperor of the East. The design of a confpiracy was imputed, according to the usual forms, to the proftrate tyrant; but his innocence and the guilt of his conqueror22, are fufficiently proved by the advantageous treaty which force would not fincerely have granted, nor weakness have rashly infringed. The jealousy of power, and the mischiefs of discord, may suggest a more decent apology, and a fentence less rigorous may be pronounced against a crime which was necessary to introduce into Italya generation of public felicity. The living author of this felicity was audaciously praised in his own presence by facred and profane orators23; but history (in his time she was mute and inglorious) has not left any just reprefentation of the events which displayed, or of the defects which clouded, the virtues of Theodoric24. One

Reign of Theodoric king of Italy; A. D. 493. Mar. 5.-A. D. 526. Aug. 30.

> ²² Procopius (Gothic.l. i. c. i.) approves himself an impartial sceptic; φασι βολερώ τροπώ εκτείνε. Cassiodorius (in Chron.) and Ennodius (p. 1604.) are loyal and credulous, and the testimony of the Valesian Fragment (p. 718.) may justify their belief. Marcellinus spits the venom of a Greek subject-perjuriis illectus, interfectusque est (in

Chron.).

² The fonorous and fervile oration of Ennodius was pronounced at Milan or Ravenna in the years 507 or 508 (Sirmond, tom. 1. p. 1615.). Two or three years afterwards, the orator was rewarded with the bishoprick of Pavia, which he held till his death in the year 521. (Dupin. Bibliot: Eccles. tom. v. p. 11 - 14. See Saxii Onomasticon, tom. ii.

^{· 24} Our best materials are occasional hints from Procopius and the Valefian Fragment, which was discovered by Sirmond, and is pub-

One record of his fame, the volume of public CHAP. epiftles composed by Cassiodorius in the royal XXXIX. name is still extant, and has obtained more implicit credit than it feems to deferve 25. exhibit the forms, rather than the substance, of his government; and we should vainly search for the pure and spontaneous sentiments of the Barbarian amidst the declamation and learning of a fophist, the wishes of a Roman senator, the precedents of office, and the vague professions, which, in every court and on every occasion, compose the language of discreet ministers. The reputation of Theodoric may repose with more confidence on the visible peace and prosperity of a reign of thirty-three years; the unanimous esteem of his own times, and the memory of his wifdom and courage, his justice and humanity, which was deeply impressed on the minds of the Goths and Italians.

The partition of the lands of Italy, of which Partition Theodoric affigned the third part to his foldiers. is honourably arraigned as the fole injustice of his life. And even this act may be fairly justified by the example of Odoacer, the rights of conquest, the true Interest of the Italians, and the facred

lished at the end of Ammianus Marcellinus. The author's name is unknown, and his style is barbarous; but in his various facts he exhibits the knowledge, without the passions, of a contemporary. The prefident Montesquieu had formed the plan of an history of Theodoric. which at a diffance might appear a rich and interesting subject.

25 The best edition of the Variarum Libri xii. is that of Joh. Garretius (Rotomagi, 1679, in Opp. Caffiodor. 2 vol. in fol.); but they deferved and required fuch an editor as the Marquis Scipio Maffei, who thought of publishing them at Verona. The Barbara Eleganza (as it is ingeniously named by Tiraboschi) is never simple, and seldom perspi-

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duty

CHAP. duty of fubfifting a whole people, who, on the faith of his promifes, had transported themselves into a distant land 26. Under the reign of Theodoric, and in the happy climate of Italy, the Goths foon multiplied to a formidable hoft of two hundred thousand men 27, and the whole amount of their families may be computed by the ordinary addition of women and children. Their invalion of property, a part of which must have been already vacant, was difguifed by the generous but improper name of hospitality; these unwelcome guefts were irregularly disperfed over the face of Italy, and the lot of each Barbarian was adequate to his birth and office, the number of his followers, and the ruftic wealth which he possessed in flaves and cattle. The distinctions of noble and plebeian were acknowledged28; but the lands of every freeman were exempt from taxes, and he enjoyed the inestimable privilege of being fubject only to the laws of his country23. Fashion. and even convenience, foon perfuaded the conquerors to assume the more elegant dress of the natives, but they still persisted in the use of their mother-tongue; and their contempt for the Latin fchools was applauded by Theodoric himfelf, who

²⁷ Procopius, Goth. l. iii. c. 4. 21. Ennodius describes (p. 1612, 1613.) the military arts and increasing numbers of the Goths.

29 See the acknowledgment of Gothic liberty: Var. v. 30.

²⁶ Procopius, Gothic. l. i. c. i. Variarum, ii. Maffei (Verona Illustrata, p. i. p. 228.) exaggerates the injuffice of the Goths, whom he hated as an Italian noble. The plebeian Muratori crouches under their oppression.

^{2&}quot; When Theodoric gave his fifter to the king of the Vandals, she failed for Africa with a guard of 1000 noble Goths, each of whom was attended by five armed followers (Procop. Vandal. I. i. c. 8.). The Gothic nobility must have been as numerous as brave.

gratified their prejudices, or his own, by declar- CHAP ing, that the child who had trembled at a rod, would never dare to look upon a fword 30. Diftress might fometimes provoke the indigent Roman to affume the ferocious manners which were infenfibly relinquished by the rich and luxurious Barbarian 31: but these mutual conversions were not encouraged by the policy of a monarch who perpetuated the separation of the Italians and Goths; Separareferving the former for the arts of peace, and the latter for the fervice of war. To accomplish Italians. this defign, he studied to protect his industrious fubjects, and to moderate the violence without enervating the valour of his foldiers, who were maintained for the public defence. They held their lands and benefices as a military flipend at the found of the trumpet, they were prepared to march under the conduct of their provincial officers: and the whole extent of Italy was distributed into the feveral quarters of a well-regulated camp. The fervice of the palace and of the frontiers was performed by choice or by rotation; and each extraordinary fatigue was recompenfed by an increase of pay and occasional donatives. Theodoric had convinced his brave companions, that empire must be acquired and defended by the

³⁰ Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 2. The Roman boys learnt the language (Var. viii. 21.) of the Goths. Their general ignorance is not destroyed by the exceptions of Amalafuntha, a female, who might fludy without shame, or of Theodatus, whose learning provoked the indignation and contempt of his countrymen.

³¹ A faying of Theodoric was founded on experience: "Romanus " mifer imitatur Gothum; et utilis (dives) Gothus imitatur Romanum." (See the Fragment and Notes of Valefius, p. 719.)

C H A P. fame arts. After his example, they strove to excel in the use, not only of the lance and sword, the instruments of their victories, but of the missile weapons, which they were two much inclined to neglect; and the lively image of war was displayed in the daily exercise and annual reviews of the Gothic cavalry. A firm though gentle difcipline imposed the habits of modesty, obedience, and temperence; and the Goths were instructed to spare the people, to reverence the laws, to understand the duties of civil fociety, and to difclaim the barbarous licence of judicial combat and private revenge32.

Foreign policy of Theodoric.

Among the Barbarians of the West, the victory of Theodoric had spread a general alarm. But as foon as it appeared that he was fatisfied with conquest and defirous of peace, terror was changed into respect, and they submitted to a powerful mediation, which was uniformly employed for the best purposes of reconciling their quarrels and civilizing their manners33. The ambaffadors who reforted to Ravenna from the most distant countries of Europe, admired his wildom, magnificence34,

³² The view of the military establishment of the Goths in Italy, is collected from the Epiftles of Cassiodorius (Var. i. 24. 40-iii. 3. 24. 48. iv. 13, 14. v. 26, 27. viii. 3, 4. 25.). They are illustrated by the learned Mascou (Hist. of the Germans, l. xi. 40-44. Annotation xiv.).

³³ See the clearness and vigour of his negociations in Ennodius (p. 1607.), and Cassiodorius (Var. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4. iv. 13. v. 43, 44.), who gives the different flyles of friendship, counsel, expostulation, &c.

³⁴ Even of his table (Var. vi. 9.) and palace (vii. 5.). The admiration of strangers is represented as the most rational motive to justify these vain expences, and to stimulate the diligence of the officers to whom those provinces were entrusted.

and courtefy; and if he fometimes accepted either CHAP. flaves or arms, white horses or strange animals, the gift of a fun-dial, a water-clock, or a musician, admonished even the princes of Gaul, of the fuperior art and industry of his Italian subjects. His domeftic alliances³⁵, a wife, two daughters, a fifter, and a neice, united the family of Theodoric with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Vifigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians, and contributed to maintain the harmony, or at leaft the balance, of the great republic of the West 36. It is difficult in the dark forests of Germany and Poland to pursue the emigrations of the Heruli, a fierce people who disdained the use of armour, and who condemned their widows and aged parents not to furvive the loss of their husbands, or the decay of their ftrength37. The king of these savage warriors folicited the friendship of Theodoric, and was elevated to the rank of his fon, according to the barbaric rites of a military adoption. From

³⁵ See the public and private alliances of the Gothic monarch, with the Burgundians (Var. i. 45. 46.), with the Franks (ii. 40.), with the Thuringians (iv. i.), and with the Vandals (v. i.). Each of these epistles affords some curious knowledge of the policy and manners of the Barbarians.

³⁶ His political fyftem may be observed in Cassiodorius (Var. iv. 1. ix. i.), Jornandes (c. 58. p. 698, 699.), and the Valesian Fragment (p. 720, 721.). Peace, honourable peace, was the constant aim of Theodoric.

³⁷ The curious reader may contemplate the Heruli of Procopius Goth. l. ii. c. 14.), and the patient reader may plunge into the dark and minute refearches of M. de Buat (Hift. des Peuples Anciens, tom. ix. p. 348—396.).

³³ Variarum, iv. 2. The fpirit and forms of this martial institution are noticed by Cassidorius; but he seems to have only translated the sentiments of the Gothic king into the language of Roman eloquence.

CHAP. the shores of the Baltic, the Æstians or Livonians laid their offerings of native amber 29 at the feet of a prince, whose fame had excited them to undertake an unknown and dangerous journey of fifteen hundred miles. With the country of from whence the Gothic nation derived their origin, he maintained a frequent and friendly correspondence; the Italians were clothed in the rich fables of Sweden; and one of its fovereigns, after avoluntary or reluctant abdication, found an hospitable retreat in the palace of Ravenna. He had reigned over one of the thirteen populous tribes who cultivated a fmall portion of the great island or peninfula of Scandinavia, to which the vague appellation of Thule has been fometimes applied. That northern region was peopled, or had been explored, as high as the fixty-eighth degree of latitude, where the natives of the polar circle enjoy and lofe the prefence of the fun at each fummer and winter fol-

³⁹ Caffiodorius, who quotes Tacitus to the Æstians, the unlettered favages of the Baltic (Var. v. 2.), describes the amber for which their shores have ever been famous, as the gum of a tree, hardened by the fun, and purified and wafted by the waves. When that fingular fubftance is analyfed by the chemists, it yields a vegetable oil and a mineral acid.

⁴⁰ Scanzia, or Thule, is described by Jornandes (c. 3. p. 610-613.) and Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 15.). Neither the Goth nor the Greek had visited the country: both had conversed with the natives in their exile at Ravenna or Conftantinople.

⁴¹ Sapherinas pelles. In the time of Jornandes, they inhabited Suethans, the proper Sweden; but that beautiful race of animals has gradually been driven into the eastern parts of Siberia. See Buffon (Hift. Nat. tom. xiii. p. 309-313. quarto edition); Pennant (System of Quadrupeds, vol. i. p. 322 - 328.); Gmelin (Hift. Gen. des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 257, 258.); and Levesque (Hift. de Russie, tom. v. p. 165, 166. 514, 515.).

flice during an equal period of forty days 42. The CHAP. long night of his absence or death was the XXXIX. mournful feafon of diffress and anxiety, till the messengers who had been sent to the mountain tops, described the first rays of returning light, and proclaimed to the plain below the festival of his refurrection43.

The life of Theodoric reprefents the rare His defenand meritorious example of a Barbarian, who five wars. fheathed his fword in the pride of victory and the vigour of his age. A reign of three and thirty years was confecrated to the duties of civil government, and the hostilities in which he was fometimes involved, were speedily terminated by the conduct of his lieutenants, the discipline of his troops, the arms of his allies, and even by the terror of his name. He reduced, under a strong and regular government, the unprofitable countries of Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, from the fource of the Danube and the territory of the Bavarians44.

42 In the fystem or romance of M. Bailly (Lettres fur les Sciences et fur l'Atlantide, tom. i. p. 249-256. tom. ii. p. 114-139.), the phonix of the Edda, and the annual death and revival of Adonis and Ofiris, are the allegorical fymbols of the absence and return of the sun in the Arctic regions. This ingenious writer is a worthy disciple of the great Buffon, nor is it easy for the coldest reason to withstand the magic of their philosophy.

43 Auth τε Θυλιταις ή μεγις η των εορτων ες, fays Procopius. At prefent a rude Manicheism (generous enough) prevails among the Samoyedes in Greenland and in Lapland (Hift. des Voyages, tom. xviii. p. 508, 509. tom. xix. p. 105, 106. 527, 528.); yet, according to Grotius, Samojutæ cœlum atque aftra adorant, numina haud aliis iniquiora (de Rebus Belgicis, l. iv. p. 338. folio edition): a fentence which Tacitus would not have difowned.

41 See the Hift. des Peuples Anciens, &c. tom. ix. p.255-273. 396 -501. The Count de Buat was French minister at the court of Bavaria; a liberal

CHAP, to the petty kingdom erected by the Gepidæ on the ruins of Sirmium. His prudence could not fafely entrust the bulwark of Italy to such feeble and turbulent neighbours; and his justice might claim the lands which they oppressed, either as a part of his kingdom, or as the inheritance of his father. The greatness of a servant who was named perfidious because he was successful, awakened the jealoufy of the Emperor Anastasius; and a war was kindled on the Dacian frontier, by the protection which the Gothic King, in the viciflitude of human affairs, had granted to one of the descendants of Attila. Sabinian, a general illustrious by his own and father's merit, advanced at the head of ten thousand Romans: and the provisions and arms, which filled a long train of waggons, were distributed to the fiercest of the Bulgarian tribes. But, in the fields of Margus, the eastern powers were defeated by the inferior forces of the Goths and Huns; the flower and even the hope of the Roman armies was irretrievably destroyed; and such was the temperance with which Theodoric had infpired his victorious troops, that as their leader had not given the fignal of pillage, the rich fpoils of the enemy lay untouched at their feet45. Exasperated by this difgrace, the Byzantine court A.D. 509. difpatched two hundred ships and eight thousand

His naval Armament,

> a liberal curiofity prompted his inquiries into the antiquities of the country, and that curiofity was the germ of twelve respectable volumes.

¹⁵ See the Gothic transactions on the Danube and in Illyricum, in Jornandes (c. 58. p. 699.), Ennodius (p. 1607-1610.), Marcellinus (in Chron. p. 44. 47, 48.), and Caffiodorius (in Chron. and Var. iii. 23. 50. iv. 13. vii. 4. 24. viii. 9, 10, 11. 21. ix. 8, 9.).

men to plunder the fea-coast of Calabria and CHAP. Apulia; they affaulted the ancient city of Ta- XXXIX. rentum, interrupted the trade and agriculture of an happy country, and failed back to the Hellespont, proud of their piratical victory over a people whom they still prefumed to consider as their Roman brethren 46. Their retreat was posfibly haftened by the activity of Theodoric; Italy was covered by a fleet of a thousand light vessels 47, which he constructed with incredible dispatch; and his firm moderation was soon rewarded by a folid and honourable peace. He maintained with a powerful hand the balance of the West, till it was at length overthrown by the ambition of Clovis; and although unable to affift his rash and unfortunate kinsman the King of the Vifigoths, he faved the remains of his family and people, and checked the Franks in the midst of their victorious career. I am not defirous to prolong or repeat 48 this narrative of military events, the least interesting of the reign of Theodoric; and shall be content to add, that the Alemanni were protected 40, that

⁴⁶ I cannot forbear transcribing the liberal and classic style of Count Marcellinus: Romanus comes domesticorum, et Rusticus comes scholariorum cum centum armatis navibus, totidemque dromonibus, octo millia militum armatorum secum ferentibus, ad devastanda Italiæ littora processerunt, et usque ad Tarentum antiquissimam civitatem aggressi sunt; remensoque mari inhonestam victoriam quam piratico ausu Romani ex Romanis rapuerunt, Anastasio Cæsari reportarunt (in Chron. p. 48.). See Variar. i. 16. ii. 38.

⁴⁷ See the royal orders and infructions (Var. iv. 15. v. 16—20.). These armed boats should be still smaller than the thousand vessels of Agamemnon at the siege of Troy.

⁺⁸ Vol. vi. p. 330-337.

⁴⁹ Ennodius (p. 1610.) and Caffiodorius, in the royal name (Var. ii. 41.), record his falutary protection of the Alemanni.

CHAP, an inroad of the Burgundians was feverely chaftifed, and that the conquest of Arles and Marfeilles opened a free communication with the Vifigoths, who revered him both as their national protector, and as the guardian of his grandchild, the infant fon of Alaric. Under this refpectable character, the King of Italy restored the prætorian præfecture of the Gauls, reformed fome abuses in the civil government of Spain, and accepted the annual tribute and apparent fubmission of its military governor, who wisely refused to trust his person in the palace of Ravenna 50. The Gothic fovereignty was established from Sicily to the Danube, from Sirmium or Belgrade to the Atlantic Ocean; and the Greeks themselves have acknowledged that Theodoric reigned over the fairest portion of the western empire 51.

Civil government of Italy according to the Roman laws.

The union of the Goths and Romans might have fixed for ages the transient happiness of Italy; and the first of nations, a new people of free fubjects and enlightened foldiers, might have gradually arisen from the mutual emulation of their respective virtues. But the sublime merit of guiding or feconding fuch a revolution, was not referved for the reign of Theodoric; he wanted either the genius or the opportunities of

51 Theophanes, p. 113.

. . .

⁵⁰ The Gothic transactions in Gaul and Spain are represented with fome perplexity in Caffiodorius (Var. iii. 32. 38. 41. 43, 44. v. 39.) Jornandes (c. 58. p. 698, 699.), and Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. 12.). I will neither hear nor reconcile the long and contradictory arguments of the Abbé Dubos and the Count de Buat, about the wars of Burgundy.

a legislator 52; and while he indulged the Goths CHAP. in the enjoyment of rude liberty, he fervilely XXXIX. copied the inflitutions, and even the abuses, of the political fystem which had been framed by Conftantine and his fucceffors. From a tender regard to the expiring prejudices of Rome, the Barbarian declined the name, the purple, and the diadem of the emperors; but he affumed, under the hereditary title of King, the whole fubstance and plenitude of imperial prerogative 53. His addresses to the eastern throne were respectful and ambiguous; he celebrated in pompous style the harmony of the two republics, applauded his own government as the perfect fimilitude of a fole and undivided empire, and claimed above the Kings of the earth the same pre-eminence which he modeftly allowed to the person or rank of Anastasius. The alliance of the East and West was annually declared by the unanimous choice of two confuls; but it should feem that the Italian candidate who was named by Theodoric, accepted a formal confirmation from the fovereign of Constantinople 54. The Gothic palace of Ravenna re-

⁵² Procopius affirms that no laws whatfoever were promulgated by Theodoric and the fucceeding Kings of Italy. (Goth. l. ii. c. 6.) He must mean in the Gothic language. A Latin edict of Theodoric is still extant, in one hundred and fifty four articles.

⁵³ The image of Theodoric is engraved on his coins: his modeft fucceffors were fatisfied with adding their own name to the head of the reigning Emperor (Muratori Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii. differt. xxvii. p.577—579. Giannone Iftoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 166.).

flected

⁵⁴ The alliance of the Emperor and the King of Italy are represented by Cassiodorius (Var. i. 1. ii. 1, 2, 3. vi. 1.) and Procopius (Goth. I. ii. c. 6. I. iii. c. 21.), who celebrate the friendship of Anassasius and Theodoric: but the sigurative style of compliment was interpreted in a very different sense at Constantinople and Rayenna.

CHAP. flected the image of the court of Theodofius or XXXIX. Valentinian. The prætorian præfect, the præfect of Rome, the quæftor, the mafter of the offices, with the public and patrimonial treasurers, whose functions are painted in gaudy colours by the rhetoric of Cassiodorius, still continued to act as the ministers of state. And the subordinate care of justice and the revenue was delegated to feven confulars, three correctors, and five prefidents, who governed the fifteen regions of Italy, according to the principles and even the forms of Roman jurisprudence.55 The violence of the conquerors was abated or eluded by the flow artifice of judicial proceedings; the civil administration, with its honours and emoluments, was confined to the Italians; and the people still preferved their dress and language, their laws and customs, their personal freedom, and two-thirds of their landed property. It had been the object of Augustus to conceal the introduction of monarchy; it was the policy of Theodoric to difguife the reign of a Barbarian⁵⁶. If his subjects

> 55 To the xvii provinces of the Notitia, Paul Warnefrid the deacon (De Reb. Longobard. l. ii. c. 14-22.) has subjoined an xviiith, the Appenine (Muratori Script, Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. p. 431-433.). But of these Sardinia and Corsica were possessed by the Vandals, and the two Rhætias, as well as the Cottian Alps, feem to have been abandoned to a military government. The state of the four provinces that now form the kingdom of Naples, is laboured by Giannone (tom. i. p. 172, 178.) with patriotic diligence.

> 56 See the Gothic history of Procopius (l. i. c. 1. l. ii. c. 6.), the Epiftles of Cassiodorius (passim, but especially the vth and vith books, which contain the formulæ, or patents of offices), and the Civil History of Giannone (tom. i. l. ii.iii.). The Gothic counts, which he places in every Italian city, are annihilated, however, by Maffei (Verona Illustrata, p. i. I. viii. p. 227.); for those of Syracuse and Naples (Var. vi. 22, 23.)

were special and temporary commissions.

were

were fometimes awakened from this pleafing CHAP. vision of a Roman government, they derived XXXIX. more substantial comfort from the character of a Gothic prince, who had penetration to difcern. and firmness to pursue, his own and the public Theodoric loved the virtues which he intereft. possessed, and the talents of which he was destitute. Liberius was promoted to the office of prætorian præfect for his unshaken fidelity to the unfortunate cause of Odoacer. The ministers of Theodoric, Caffiodorius 57 and Boethius, have reflected on his reign the lustre of their genius and learning. More prudent or more fortunate than his colleague, Caffiodorius preserved his own efteem without forfeiting the royal favour; and after passing thirty years in the honours of the world, he was bleffed with an equal term of repose in the devout and studious solitude of Squillace.

As the patron of the republic, it was the in- Prosperity terest and duty of the Gothic king to cultivate the affections of the fenate 58 and people. The nobles of Rome were flattered by fonorous epithets and formal professions of respect, which had been more juftly applied to the merit and authority of

57 Two Italians of the name of Cassiodorius, the father (Var. i. 24.40.) and the fon (ix. 24, 25.), were fucceffively employed in the adminiftration of Theodoric. The fon was born in the year 479; his various epiftles as quæftor, mafter of the offices, and prætorian præfect, extend from 509 to 539, and he lived as a monk about thirty years. (Tiraboschi Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. iii. p. 7-24. Fabricius, Bibliot. Lat. Med. Ævi, tom. i. p. 357, 358. edit. Mansi.

58 See his regard for the fenate in Cochlœus (Vit. Theod. viii. p. 72-80.).

their

CHAP. their ancestors. The people enjoyed without fear or danger, the three bleffings of a capital, order, plenty, and public amusements. A visible diminution of their numbers may be found even in the measure of liberality 59; yet Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, poured their tribute of corn into the granaries of Rome; an allowance of bread and meat was distributed to the indigent citizens; and every office was deemed honourable which was confecrated to the care of their health and happinefs. The public games, fuch as a Greek ambaffador might politely applaud, exhibited a faint and feeble copy of the magnificence of the Cæfars: yet the mufical, the gymnastic, and the pantomime arts, had not totally funk in oblivion; the wild beafts of Africa still exercised in the amphitheatre the courage and dexterity of the hunters; and the indulgent Goth either patiently tolerated or gently reftrained the blue and green factions, whose contests so often filled the circus with clamour and even with blood 60. In the feventh year of his peaceful reign, Theodoric vifited the old capital of the world; the fenate and people advanced in folemn procession to falute a fecond Trajan, a new Valentinian: and he nobly supported that character by the

Vifit of Theodoric. A. D. 500.

> 59 No more than 120,000 modii, or four thousand quarters (Anonym. Valefian. p. 721. and Var. i. 35. vi. 18. xi. 5. 39.).

affurance

⁶⁰ See his regard and indulgence for the spectacles of the circus, the amphitheatre, and the theatre, in the Chronicle and Epiftles of Caffiodorius (Var. i. 20. 27. 30, 31, 32. iii. 51. iv. 51. illustrated by the xivth Annotation of Mascou's History), who has contrived to sprinkle the subject with oftentatious, though agreeable learning.

affurance of a just and legal government⁶¹, in a CHAP. discourse which he was not afraid to pronounce XXXIX. in public, and to inscribe on a tablet of brass. Rome, in this august ceremony, shot a last ray of declining glory; and a faint, the spectator of this pompous scene, could only hope in his pious fancy, that it was excelled by the celeftial fplendour of the new Jerusalem 62. During a residence of fix months, the fame, the person, and the courteous demeanour of the Gothic king, excited the admiration of the Romans, and he contemplated, with equal curiofity and furprife, the monuments that remained of their ancient greatness. imprinted the footsteps of a conqueror on the Capitoline hill, and frankly confessed that each day he viewed with fresh wonder the forum of Trajan and his lofty column. The theatre of Pompey appeared, even in its decay, as a huge mountain artificially hollowed and polished, and adorned by human industry; and he vaguely computed, that a river of gold must have been drained to erect the coloffal amphitheatre of Titus⁶³. From the mouths of fourteen aqueducts, a pure and copious stream was diffused

61 Anonym. Vales. p. 721. Marius Aventicensis in Chron. In the scale of public and personal merit, the Gothic conqueror is at least as much above Valentinian, as he may seem inferior to Trajan.

⁶² Vit. Fulgentii in Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 500, No. 10.
⁶³ Cassindorius describes in his pompous style the forum of Trajan (Var. vii. 6.), the theatre of Marcellus (iv. 51.), and the amphitheatre of Titus (v. 42.); and his descriptions are not unworthy of the reader's perusal. According to the modern prices, the Abbé Barthelemy computes that the brick-work and masonry of the Coliseum would now cost twenty millions of French livres (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 585, 586.). How small a part of that stupendous fabric!

CHAP. into every part of the city; among these the Claudian water, which arose at the distance of thirty-eight miles in the Sabine mountains, was conveyed along a gentle though constant declivity of folid arches, till it descended on the summit of the Aventine hill. The long and spacious vaults which had been conftructed for the purpose of common sewers, subsisted after twelve centuries, in their priftine strength; and the subterraneous channels have been preferred to all the visible wonders of Rome64. The Gothic kings, fo injuriously accused of the ruin of antiquity, were anxious to preferve the monuments of the nation whom they had fubdued65. The royal edicts were framed to prevent the abuses, the neglect, or the depredations of the citizens themfelves; and a professed architect, the annual sum of two hundred pounds of gold, twenty-five thoufand tiles, and the receipt of customs from the Lucrine port, were affigned for the ordinary repairs of the walls and public edifices. A fimilar care was extended to the statues of metal or marble of men or animals. The spirit of the horses, which have given a modern name to the Quirinal, was applauded by the Barbarians66; the brazen elephants

65 For the Gothic care of the buildings and statues, see Cassiodorius (Var. i. 21. 25. ii. 34. iv. 30. vii. 6. 13. 15.), and the Valefian Fragment

⁶⁴ For the aqueducts and cloacæ, see Strabo (l. v. p. 360.), Pliny (Hift. Nat. xxxvi. 24.), Caffiodorius (Var. iii. 30, 31. vi. 6.), Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. 19.), and Nardini (Roma Antica, p. 514-522.). How fuch works could be executed by a King of Rome, is yet a problem.

⁽p. 721.). 66 Var. vii. 15. These horses of Monte-Cavallo had been transported from Alexandria to the baths of Constantine (Nardini, p. 188.). Their sculpture is disdained by the Abbé Dubos (Reslexions sur la Poesie et

elephants of the Via facra were diligently re- CHAP. ftored 67; the famous heifer of Myron deceived XXXIX. the cattle, as they were driven through the forum of peace 68; and an officer was created to protect those works of art, which Theodoric confidered as the noblest ornament of his kingdom.

After the example of the last emperors, Theo- Flourish. doric preferred the refidence of Ravenna, where of Italy. he cultivated an orchard with his own hands 69. As often as the peace of his kingdom was threatened (for it was never invaded) by the Barbarians, he removed his court to Verona 70 on the northern frontier, and the image of his palace, still extant, on a coin, represents the oldest and most authentic model of Gothic architecture. Thefe two capitals, as well as Pavia, Spoleto, Naples, and the rest of the Italian cities, acquired under his reign the ufeful or splendid decorations of churches, aqueducts, baths, porticoes,

fur la Peinture, tom.i. fection 39.), and admired by Winkelman (Hift. de l'Art, tom. ii. p. 159.).

and palaces ". But the happiness of the subject

⁶⁷ Var. x. 10. They were probably a fragment of fome triumphal

car (Cuper de Elephantis, ii. 10.).

68 Procopius (Goth. I. iv. c. 21.) relates a foolish story of Myron's cow, which is celebrated by the falfe wit of thirty-fix Greek epigrams (Antholog. 1. iv. p. 302-306. edit. Hen. Steph. Aufon. Epigram. lviii-lxviii.).

69 See an Epigram of Ennodius (ii. 3. p. 1893, 1894.) on this garden

and the royal gardener.

70 His affection for that city is proved by the epithet of " Verona tua," and the legend of the hero; under the barbarous name of Dietrich of Bern (Peringsciold ad Cochlœum, p. 240.), Maffei traces him with knowledge and pleasure in his native country (l.ix. p. 230-236.)

See Maffei, Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 231, 232. 308, &c. He imputes Gothic architecture, like the corruption of language, writing, &c. not to the Barbarians, but to the Italians themselves. Compare his fentiments with those of Tiraboschi (tom. iii. p. 61.).

CHAP. was more truly conspicuous in the busy scene of labour and luxury, in the rapid increase and bold enjoyment of national wealth. From the fhades of Tibur and Præneste, the Roman senators still retired in the winter-season to the warm fun, and falubrious fprings of Baiæ; and their villas, which advanced on folid moles into the bay of Naples, commanded the various profpect of the sky, the earth, and the water. On the eastern fide of the Hadriatic, a new Campania was formed in the fair and fruitful province of Istria, which communicated with the palace of Ravenna by an eafy navigation of one hundred miles. The rich productions of Lucania and the adjacent provinces were exchanged at the Marcilian fountain, in a populous fair annually dedicated to trade, intemperance, and fuperfition. In the folitude of Comum, which had once been animated by the mild genius of Pliny, a transparent bason above fixty miles in length still reflected the rural feats which encompassed the margin of the Larian lake; and the gradual afcent of the hills was covered by a triple planta. tion of olives, of vines, and of chesnut trees72. Agriculture revived under the fladow of peace, and the number of husbandmen was multiplied by the redemption of captives 73. The iron mines

⁷² The villas, climate, and landskip of Baiæ (Var. ix. 6. See Cluver. Italia Antiq. l. iv. c. 2. p. 1119, &c.), Istria (Var. xii. 22. 26.), and Comum (Var. xi. 14. compare with Pliny's two villas, ix. 7.), are agreeably painted in the Epiftles of Caffiodorius.

⁷³ In Liguria numerofa agricolarum progenies (Ennodius, p. 1678, 1679, 1680.). St. Epiphanius of Pavia redeemed by prayer or ranfom 6000 captives from the Burgundians of Lyons and Savoy. Such deeds are the best of miracles.

of Dalmatia, a gold mine in Eruttium, were CHAP. carefully explored, and the Pomptine marshes, XXXIX. as well as those of Spoleto, were drained and cultivated by private undertakers, whose distant reward must depend on the continuance of the public prosperity 74. Whenever the seasons were less propitious, the doubtful precautions of forming magazines of corn, fixing the price, and prohibiting the exportation, attefted at least the benevolence of the flate; but fuch was the extraordinary plenty which an industrious people produced from a grateful foil, that a gallon of wine was fometimes fold in Italy for less than three farthings, and a quarter of wheat at about five shillings and fix pence 75. A country posfeffed of fo many valuable objects of exchange foon attracted the merchants of the world, whose beneficial traffic was encouraged and protected by the liberal spirit of Theodoric. The free intercourse of the provinces by land and water was reftored and extended; the city gates were never flut either by day or by night; and the common faying, that a purse of gold might be fafely left in the fields, was expressive of the conscious security of the inhabitants.

75 LX modii tritici in folidum ipfius tempore fuerunt, et vinum xxx. amphoras in folidum (Fragment. Vales.). Corn was distributed from the granaries at xy or xxy modii for a piece of gold, and the price

was still moderate.

⁷⁴ The political economy of Theodoric (fee Anonym. Vales. p. 721. and Caffiodorius, in Chron.) may be diffinctly traced under the following heads: iron mine (Var. iii. 23.); gold mine (ix. 3.); Pomptine marshes (ii. 32, 33.); Spoleto (ii. 21.); corn (i. 34. x. 27, 28. xi. 11, 12.); trade (vi. 7. 9. 23.); fair of Leucothoe or St. Cyprian in Lucania (viii. 33.); plenty (xii. 4.); the cursus, or public post (i. 29. ii. 31. iv. 47. v. 5. vi. 6. vii. 33.); the Flaminian way (xii. 18.).

С H A P. XXXIX.

Theodoric an Arian.

A difference of religion is always pernicious and often fatal to the harmony of the prince and people; the Gothic conqueror had been educated in the profession of Arianism, and Italy was devoutly attached to the Nicene faith. But the perfuation of Theodoric was not infected by zeal; and he pioufly adhered to the herefy of his fathers, without condescending to balance the fubtile arguments of theological metaphyfics. Satisfied with the private toleration of his Arian fecturies, he justly conceived himself to be the guardian of the public worship, and his external reverence for a superstition which he despised may have nourished in his mind the falutary indifference of a ftatesman or philosopher. Catholics of his dominions acknowledged, perhaps with reluctance, the peace of the church; their clergy, according to the degrees of rank or merit, were honourably entertained in the palace of Theodoric; he esteemed the living fanctity of Cæfarius 76 and Epiphanius 77, the orthodox Bishops of Arles and Pavia; and prefented a decent offering on the tomb of St. Peter, without any scrupulous inquiry into the creed of the apostle78. His favourite Goths, and even

His toleration of the Catholics.

76 See the life of St. Cæfarius in Baronius (A.D. 508, No. 12, 13, 14.). The King presented him with 300 gold folidi, and a discus of filver of the weight of fixty pounds.

77 Ennodius in vit. St. Epiphanii, in Sirmond Op. tom. i. p. 1672— 1690. Theodoric bestowed some important favours on this bishop,

whom he used as a counsellor in peace and war.

^{7°} Devotiffimus ac fi Catholicus (Anonym. Vales. p. 720.); yet his of fering was no more than two filver candlefticks (cerofrata) of the weight of feventy pounds, far inferior to the gold and gems of Conflantinople and France (Anaftasius in Vit. Pont. in Hormida, p. 34. edit. Paris).

his mother, were permitted to retain or em. CHAP, brace the Athanafian faith, and his long reign XXXIX. could not afford the example of an Italian Catholic, who, either from choice or compulsion, had deviated into the religion of the conqueror 79, The people, and the Barbarians themselves, were edified by the pomp and order of religious worship; the magistrates were instructed to defend the just immunities of ecclefiastical persons and possessions; the bishops held their fynods, the metropolitans exercifed their jurisdiction, and the privileges of fanctuary were maintained or moderated according to the spirit of the Roman jurifprudence so. With the protection, Theodoric affumed the legal fupremacy of the church; and his firm administration restored or extended fome useful prerogatives which had been neglected by the feeble emperors of the West. He was not ignorant of the dignity and importance of the Roman pontiff, to whom the venerable name of Pope was now appropriated. The peace or the revolt of Italy might depend on the character of a wealthy and popular bishop, who claimed fuch ample dominion both in heaven and earth; who had been declared in a numerous

79 The tolerating fystem of his reign (Ennodius, p. 1612. Anonym, Vales. p. 719. Procop. Goth. l. i. c. 1. l. ii. c. 6. may be studied in the Epistles of Cassiodorius, under the following heads: bishops (Var. i. 9. viii. 15. 24. xi. 23.); immunities (i. 26. ii. 29, 30.); church lands (iv. 17 20.); fanctuaries (ii. 11. iii. 47.); church plate (xii. 20.); discipline (iv. 44.); which prove at the same time that he was the head of the church as well as of the state.

⁸⁰ We may reject a foolish tale of his beheading a Catholic deacon who turned Arian (Theodor. Lector. No. 17.). Why is Theodoric furnamed Afer? From Vaser? (Vales. ad loc.) A light conjecture.

снар. fynod to be pure from all fin, and exempt from all judgment 81. When the chair of St. Peter was disputed by Symmachus and Laurence, they appeared at his fummons before the tribunal of an Arian monarch, and he confirmed the election of the most worthy or the most obsequious candidate. At the end of his life, in a moment of jealoufy and refentment, he prevented the choice of the Romans, by nominating a pope in the palace of Ravenna. The danger and furious contests of a schism were mildly restrained, and the last decree of the senate was enacted to extinguish, if it were possible, the scandalous venality of the papal elections 82.

Vices of his government.

I have descanted with pleasure on the fortunate condition of Italy; but our fancy must not haftily conceive that the golden age of the poets. a race of men without vice or mifery, was realised under the Gothic conquest. The fair profpect was fometimes overcast with clouds: the wifdom of Theodoric might be deceived, his power might be refifted, and the declining age of the monarch was fullied with popular hatred and patrician blood. In the first infolence of victory, he had been tempted to deprive the whole party of Odoacer of the civil and even the na-

⁸¹ Ennodius, p. 1621, 1622. 1636. 1638. His libell was approved and registered (fynodaliter) by a Roman council (Baronius, A.D. 503, No. 6. Franciscus Pagi in Breviar. Pont. Rom. tom. i. p. 242.).

⁸² See Caffiodorius (Var. viii. 15. ix. 15, 16.), Anastasius (in Symmacho, p. 31.), and the xviith Annotation of Mascou. Baronius, Pagi, and most of the Catholic doctors, confess, with an angry growl, this Gothic usurpation.

tural rights of fociety 83; a tax unfeafonably im. CHAP. posed after the calamities of war, would have XXXIX. crushed the rising agriculture of Liguria; a rigid pre-emption of corn, which was intended for the public relief, must have aggravated the distress of Campania. These dangerous projects were defeated by the virtue and eloquence of Epiphanius and Boethius, who, in the presence of Theodoric himself, successfully pleaded the cause of the people 84: but if the royal ear was open to the voice of truth, a faint and a philosopher are not always to be found at the ear of kings. The privileges of rank, or office, or favour, were too frequently abused by Italian fraud and Gothic violence, and the avarice of the king's nephew was publicly exposed, at first by the usurpation, and afterwards by the restitution of the estates which he had unjustly extorted from his Tuscan neighbours. Two hundred thousand Barbarians. formidable even to their mafter, were feated in the heart of Italy; they indignantly supported the restraints of peace and discipline; the disorders of their march were always felt and sometimes compensated; and where it was dangerous to punish, it might be prudent to dissemble, the

⁸³ He disabled them—a licentia testandi; and all Italy mourned—a-mentabili justitio. I wish to believe, that these penalties were enacted against the rebels who had violated their oath of allegiance; but the testimony of Ennodius (p. 1675—1678.) is the more weighty, as he lived and died under the reign of Theodoric.

⁸⁴ Ennodius, in Vit. Epiphan. p. 1689, 1690. Boethius de Confolatione Philosophiæ, l. i. pros. iv. p. 45, 46, 47. Respect, but weigh the passions of the saint and the senator; and fortify or alleviate their complaints by the various hints of Cassiodorius (ii. 8. iv. 36. viii. 5.).

C H A P. fallies of their native fierceness. When the indulgence of Theodoric had remitted two-thirds of the Ligurian tribute, he condescended to explain the difficulties of his fituation, and to lament the heavy though inevitable burdens which he imposed on his subjects for their own defence 5. These ungrateful subjects could never be cordially reconciled to the origin, the religion, or even the virtues of the Gothic conqueror; past calamities were forgotten, and the fense or fuspicion of injuries was rendered still more exquifite by the prefent felicity of the times.

He is provoked to perfecute the Catho-

Even the religious toleration which Theodoric had the glory of introducing into the Christian world, was painful and offensive to the orthodox zeal of the Italians. They respected the armed herefy of the Goths; but their pious rage was fafely pointed against the rich and defenceless Jews, who had formed their establishments at Naples, Rome, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, for the benefit of trade, and under the fanction of the laws 56. Their persons were insulted, their effects were pillaged, and their fynagogues were burnt by the mad populace of Ravenna and Rome, inflamed, as it should feem, by the most frivolous or extravagant pretences. The government which could neglect would have deferved fuch an outrage. A legal enquiry was infantly directed; and as the authors of the tumult had

85 Immanium expensarum pondus . . . pro ipsorum salute, &c.; yet thefe are no more than words.

escaped

⁵⁶ The Jews were fettled at Naples (Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 8.), at Genoa (Var. ii. 28. iv. 33.), Milan (v. 37.), Rome (iv. 43.). See likewife Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii. c. 7. p. 254.

escaped in the crowd, the whole community was CHAP. condemned to repair the damage; and the obstinate bigots who refused their contributions, were whipped through the ftreets by the hand of the executioner. This fimple act of justice exafperated the discontent of the Catholics, who applauded the merit and patience of these holy confeffors; three hundred pulpits deplored the perfecution of the church, and if the chapel of St. Stephen at Verona was demolished by the command of Theodoric, it is probable that fome miracle hoftile to his name and dignity had been performed on that facred theatre. At the close of a glorious life, the King of Italy discovered that he had excited the hatred of a people whose happiness he had fo affiduously laboured to promote; and his mind was foured by indignation, jealoufy, and the bitterness of unrequited love. Gothic conqueror condescended to disarm the unwarlike natives of Italy, interdicting all weapons of offence, and excepting only a small knife for domestic use. The deliverer of Rome was accused of conspiring with the vilest informers against the lives of senators whom he suspected of a fecret and treasonable correspondence with the Byzantine court 87. After the death of Anaftafius, the diadem had been placed on the head of a feeble old man; but the powers of government were assumed by his nephew Justi-

⁸⁷ Rex avidus communis exitii, &c. (Boethius, l. i. p. 59.): rex dolum Romanis tendebat (Anonym. Vales. p. 723.). These are hard words: they speak the passions of the Italians, and those (I fear) of Theodoric himself.

CHAP, nian, who already meditated the extirpation of herefy, and the conquest of Italy and Africa. A rigorous law which was published at Conftantinople, to reduce the Arians by the dread of punishment within the pale of the church, awakened the just refentment of Theodoric, who claimed for his diffressed brethren of the East, the same indulgence which he had so long granted to the Catholics of his dominions. At his stern command, the Roman pontiff, with four illustrious senators, embarked on an embaffy, of which he must have alike dreaded the failure or the fuccess. The fingular veneration shewn to the first pope who had visited Constantinople was punished as a crime by his jealous monarch; the artful or peremptory refufal of the Byzantine court might excuse an equal, and would provoke a larger, measure of retaliation; and a mandate was prepared in Italy, to prohibit, after a flated day, the exercise of the Catholic worship. By the bigotry of his subjects and enemies, the most tolerant of princes was driven to the brink of persecution; and the life of Theodoric was too long, fince he lived to condemn the virtue of Boethius and Symmachus 88.

⁸⁸ I have laboured to extract a rational narrative from the dark, concife, and various hints of the Valefian Fragment (p. 722, 723, 724.), Theophanes (p. 145.), Anastasius (in Johanne, p. 35.), and the Hist. Miscella (p. 103. edit. Muratori). A gentle pressure and paraphrase of their words is no violence. Confult likewife Muratori (Annali d' Italia, tom, iv. p. 471-478.), with the Annals and Breviary (tom. i. 259-263.) of the two Pagi's the uncle and the nephew.

The fenator Boethius so is the last of the Ro- CHAP. mans whom Cato or Tully could have acknow- XXXIX. ledged for their countryman. As a wealthy Character, orphan, he inherited the patrimony and honours fludies, of the Anician family, a name ambitiously af- nours of fumed by the kings and emperors of the age; Boethius and the appellation of Manlius afferted his genuine or fabulous descent from a race of confuls and dictators, who had repulfed the Gauls from the Capitol, and facrificed their fons to the difcipline of the republic. In the youth of Boethius, the studies of Rome were not totally abandoned; a Virgil 90 is now extant, corrected by the hand of a conful; and the professors of grammar, rhetoric, and jurisprudence, were maintained in their privileges and penfions by the liberality of the Goths. But the erudition of the Latin language was infufficient to fatiate his ardent curiofity; and Boethius is faid to have employed eighteen laborious years in the schools of Athens or, which were supported by the zeal, the learning, and the diligence of Proclus and his

89 Le Clerc has composed a critical and philosophical life of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (Bibliot, Choifie, tom. xvi. p. 168-275.); and both Tiraboschi (tom. iii.) and Fabricius (Bibliot. Latin.) may be usefully consulted. The date of his birth may be placed about the year 470, and his death in 524, in a premature old age (Confol. Phil. Metrica, i. p. 5.).

90 For the age and value of this MS. now in the Medicean library at Florence, see the Cenotaphia Pisana (p. 430-447.) of Cardinal Noris.

⁹¹ The Athenian studies of Boethius are doubtful (Baronius, A.D 510, No. 3. from a spurious tract, De Disciplina Scholarum), and the term of eighteen years is doubtless too long: but the simple fact of a visit to Athens is justified by much internal evidence (Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. iii. p. 524-527.), and by an expression (though vague and ambiguous) of his friend Cassiodorius (Var. i. 45.), "longe positas Athenas introisti."

disciples.

CHAP. disciples. The reason and piety of their Roman pupil were fortunately faved from the contagion of mystery and magic, which polluted the groves of the academy; but he imbibed the fpirit, and imitated the method of his dead and living mafters, who attempted to reconcile the ftrong and fubtle fense of Aristotle with the devout contemplation and fublime fancy of Plato. his return to Rome, and his marriage with the daughter of his friend, the patrician Symmachus, Boethius still continued, in a palace of ivory and marble, to profecute the fame studies 92. The church was edified by his profound defence of the orthodox creed against the Arian, the Eutychian, and the Neftorian herefies; and the Catholic unity was explained or exposed in a formal treatise by the indifference of three distinct though confubstantial persons. For the benefit of his Latin readers, his genius fubmitted to teach the first elements of the arts and sciences of Greece. The geometry of Euclid, the music of Pythagoras, the arithmetic of Nicomachus, the mechanics of Archimedes, the astronomy of Ptolemy, the theology of Plato, and the logic of Aristotle, with the commentary of Porphyry, were translated and illustrated by the indefatigable pen of the Roman fenator. And he alone was efteemed capable of describing the wonders of art, a fun-

⁹² Bibliothecæ comptos ebore ac vitro parietes, &c. (Confol. Phil. I. i. prof. v. p. 74.) The Epiftles of Ennodius (vi. 6. vii. 13. viii. 1. 31. 37. 40.) and Caffiodorius (Var. i. 39. iv. 6. ix. 21.) afford many proofs of the high reputation which he enjoyed in his own times. It is true, that the Bishop of Pavia wanted to purchase of him an old house at Milan, and praise might be tendered and accepted in part of payment.

dial, a water-clock, or a fphere which represented CHAP. the motions of the planets. From these abstruce XXXIX. fpeculations, Boethius stooped, or, to speak more truly, he rose to the focial duties of public and private life: the indigent were relieved by his liberality; and his eloquence, which flattery might compare to the voice of Demosthenes or Cicero, was uniformly exerted in the cause of innocence and humanity. Such conspicuous merit was felt and rewarded by a difcerning prince; the dignity of Boethius was adorned with the titles of conful and patrician, and his talents were usefully employed in the important station of mafter of the offices. Notwithstanding the equal claims of the East and West, his two sons were created, in their tender youth, the confuls of the fame year 93. On the memorable day of their inauguration, they proceeded in folemn pomp from their palace to the forum, amidst the applause of the senate and people; and their joyful father, the true conful of Rome, after pronouncing an oration in the praise of his royal benefactor, distributed a triumphal largefs in the games of the circus. Prosperous in his fame and fortunes, in his public honours and private alliances, in the cultivation of science and the consciousness of virtue, Boethius might have been styled happy, if that precarious epithet could be fafely applied before the last term of the life of man.

A philo-

⁹¹ Pagi, Muratori, &c. are agreed that Boethius himself was confulin the year 510, his two fons in 522, and in 487, perhaps, his father. A defire of ascribing the last of these consulships to the philosopher, had perplexed the chronology of his life. In his honours, alliances, children, he celebrates his own felicity — his past felicity (p. 109, 110)

C H A P.

XXXIX.

His patriotifm.

A philosopher, liberal of his wealth and parsimonious of his time, might be insensible to the common allurements of ambition, the thirst of gold and employment. And fome credit may be due to the affeveration of Boethius, that he had reluctantly obeyed the divine Plato, who enjoins every virtuous citizen to rescue the state from the usurpation of vice and ignorance. For the integrity of his public conduct he appeals to the memory of his country. His authority had restrained the pride and oppression of the royal officers, and his eloquence had delivered Paulianus from the dogs of the palace. He had always pitied, and often relieved, the diftress of the provincials, whose fortunes were exhausted by public and private rapine; and Boethius alone had courage to oppose the tyranny of the Barbarians, elated by conquest, excited by avarice, and as he complains, encouraged by impunity. In these honourable contests, his spirit soared above the consideration of danger, and perhaps of prudence; and we may learn from the example of Cato, that a character of pure and inflexible virtue is the most apt to be missed by prejudice, to be heated by enthusiasm, and to confound private enmities with public The disciple of Plato might exaggejustice. rate the infirmities of nature, and the imperfections of fociety; and the mildest form of a Gothic kingdom, even the weight of allegiance and gratitude, must be insupportable to the free spirit of a Roman patriot. But the fayour and fidelity of Boethius declined in just proportion with the public happiness; and an unworthy IO.

worthy colleague was imposed, to divide and CHAP. controul the power of the master of the offices. XXXIX. In the last gloomy season of Theodoric, he indignantly felt that he was a flave; but as his mafter had only power over his life, he flood without arms and without fear against the face of an angry Barbarian, who had been provoked to believe that the fafety of the fenate was incompatible with his own. The fenator Albinus was He is acaccused and already convicted on the presump- cused of tion of hoping, as it was faid, the liberty of Rome. "If Albinus be criminal," exclaimed the orator. " the fenate and myfelf are all guilty of the fame " crime. If we are innocent, Albinus is equally " entitled to the protection of the laws." These laws might not have punished the simple and barren wish of an unattainable bleffing; but they would have shewn less indulgence to the rash confession of Boethius, that, had he known of a conspiracy, the tyrant never should 94. The advocate of Albinus was foon involved in the danger and perhaps the guilt of his client: their fignature (which they denied as a forgery) was affixed to the original address, inviting the Emperor to deliver Italy from the Goths; and three witnesses of honourable rank, perhaps of infamous reputation, attefted the treasonable designs of the Roman patrician 95. Yet his innocence must be

94 Si ego scissem tu nescisses. Boethius adopts this answer (l. i. prof.4. p. 53.) of Julius Canus, whose philosophic death is described by Seneca (De Tranquillitate Animi, c. 14.).

⁹⁵ The characters of his two delators, Bafilius (Var. ii. 10, 11. iv. 22.) and Opilio (v. 41. viii. 16.), are illustrated, not much to their honour, in the Epiftles of Caffiodorius, which likewife mention Decoratus (v. 31.), the worthless colleague of Boethius (l. iii. prof. 4. p. 193.).

снар. prefumed, fince he was deprived by Theodoric of the means of justification, and rigorously confined in the tower of Pavia, while the fenate, at the distance of five hundred miles, pronounced a fentence of confifcation and death against the most illustrious of its members. At the command of the Barbarians, the occult science of a philosopher was stigmatized with the names of facrilege and magic of. A devout and dutiful attachment to the fenate was condemned as criminal by the trembling voices of the fenators themselves; and their ingratitude deserved the with or prediction of Boethius, that, after him, none should be found guilty of the same offence of.

His imprifonment and death.

While Boethius, oppressed with fetters, expected each moment the fentence or the stroke A.D. 524. of death, he composed in the tower of Pavia, the Consolation of Philosophy; a golden volume not unworthy of the leifure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times and the situation of the author. The celeftial guide, whom he had fo long invoked at Rome and Athens, now condescended to illumine his dungeon, to revive his courage, and to pour into his wounds her falutary balm.

> A severe inquiry was instituted into the crime of magic (Var. iv. 22, 23. ix. 18.): and it was believed that many necromancers had escaped by making their gaolers mad; for mad, I should read drunk.

⁹⁷ Boethius had composed his own Apology (p. 53.), perhaps more interesting than his confolation. We must be content with the general view of his honours, principles, perfecution, &c. (I.i. prof.iv. p.42-62.). which may be compared with the short, and weighty words of the Valesian Fragment (p. 723.). An anonymous writer (Sinner, Catalog. MSS. Bibliot. Bern. tom. i. p. 287.) charges him home with honourable and patriotic treason.

She taught him to compare his long prosperity C H A P. and his recent diffress, and to conceive new XXXIX. hopes from the inconstancy of fortune. fon had informed him of the precarious condition of her gifts; experience had satisfied him of their real value; he had enjoyed them without guilt; he might refign them without a figh, and calmly difdain the impotent malice of his enemies, who had left him happiness, since they had left him virtue. From the earth, Boethius ascended to heaven in fearch of the SUPREME GOOD; explored the metaphyfical labyrinth of chance and deftiny, of prescience and free will, of time and eternity; and generously attempted to reconcile the perfect attributes of the Deity with the apparent disorders of his moral and phyfical government. Such topics of confolation, fo obvious, fo vague, or fo abstrufe, are ineffectual to subdue the feelings of human nature. Yet the fense of misfortune may be diverted by the labour of thought; and the fage who could artfully combine in the same work the various riches of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, must already have possessed the intrepid calmness which he affected to feek. Suspense, the worst of evils, was at length determined by the minifters of death, who executed, and perhaps exceeded, the inhuman mandate of Theodoric. A strong cord was fastened round the head of Boethius, and forcibly tightened, till his eyes almost started from their fockets; and some mercy may be discovered in the milder torture

CHAP. of beating him with clubs till he expired 98. But XXXIX. his genius furvived to diffuse a ray of knowledge over the darkest ages of the Latin world; the writings of the philosopher were translated by the most glorious of the English kings 99, and the third emperor of the name of Otho removed to a more honourable tomb the bones of a Catholic faint, who, from his Arian perfecutors, had acquired the honours of martyrdom, and the fame of miracles 100. In the last hours of Boethius, he derived fome comfort from the fafety of his two fons, of his wife, and of his father-in-law, the venerable Symmachus. But the grief of Symmachus was indifcreet, and perhaps difrespectful: he had presumed to lament, he might dare to revenge, the death of an injured friend. He was dragged in chains from Rome A.D. 525. to the palace of Ravenna; and the fuspicions

Death of Symmachus.

> 98 He was executed in Agro Calventiano (Calvenzano, between Marignano and Pavia), Anonym. Vales. p. 723. by order of Eusebius count of Ticinum or Pavia. The place of his confinement is ftyled the babtistery, an edifice and name peculiar to cathedrals. It is claimed by the perpetual tradition of the church of Pavia. The tower of Boethius fubfifted till the year 1584, and the draught is yet preserved (Tiraboschi, tom. iii. p. 47, 48).

> 99 See the Biographica Britannica, ALFRED, tom. i. p. 80. 2d edition. The work is still more honourable if performed under the learned eye of Alfred by his foreign and domeftic doctors. For the reputation of Boethius in the middle ages, confult Brucker (Hift. Crit.

Philosoph. tom. 3. p. 565, 566.).

1co The infcription on his new tomb was composed by the preceptor of Otho the third, the learned Pope Silvester II. who, like Boethius himself, was styled a magician by the ignorance of the times. The Catholic martyr had carried his head in his hands a confiderable way (Baronius, A. D. 526, No. 17, 18.); yet on a fimilar tale, a lady of my acquaintance once observed, "La distance n'y fait rien; il n'y a que le premier pas qui coute."

of

of Theodoric could only be appealed by the CHAP. blood of an innocent and aged fenator 101.

Humanity will be disposed to encourage any re- Remorfe port which testifies the jurisdiction of conscience and death of Theoand the remorfe of kings; and philosophy is not doric, ignorant that the most horrid spectres are some. A. D. 526. times created by the powers of a difordered fancy, and the weakness of a distempered body. After a life of virtue and glory, Theodoric was now descending with shame and guilt into the grave: his mind was humbled by the contrast of the past, and justly alarmed by the invisible terrors of futurity. One evening, as it is related, when the head of a large fish was served on the royal table 102, he fuddenly exclaimed that he beheld the angry countenance of Symmachus, his eyes glaring fury and revenge, and his mouth armed with long sharp teeth, which threatened to devour him. The monarch inflantly retired to his chamber, and, as he lay, trembling with aguish cold, under a weight of bed-clothes, he expressed in broken murmurs to his physician Elpidius, his deep repentance for the murders of Boethius and

XXXIX.

August 30.

Boethius applauds the virtues of his father-in-law (1.i. prof. 4. p. 59. l. ii. prof. 4. p. 118.). Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. i.), the Valefian Fragment (p. 724.), and the Historia Miscella (l. xv. p. 105.), agree in praising the fuperior innocence or fanctity of Symmachus; and in the estimation of the legend, the guilt of his murder is equal to the imprisonment of

¹⁰² In the fanciful eloquence of Cassiodorius the variety of sea and river fish are an evidence of extensive dominion; and those of the Rhine, of Sicily, and of the Danube, were ferved on the table of Theodoric (Var. xii. 14.). The monstrous turbot of Domitian (Juvenal. Satir. iii. 39.) had been caught on the shores of the Adriatic.

C H A P. Symmachus 103. His malady increased, and after a dysentery which continued three days, he expired in the palace of Ravenna, in the thirtythird, or, if we compute from the invalion of Italy, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign. Confcious of his approaching end, he divided his treasures and provinces between his two grandfons, and fixed the Rhone as their common boundary 104. Amalaric was reftored to the throne of Spain. Italy, with all the conquests of the Oftrogoths, was bequeathed to Athalaric: whose age did not exceed ten years, but who was cherished as the last male offspring of the line of Amali, by the short-lived marriage of his mother Amalasuntha with a royal fugitive of the fame blood 105. In the presence of the dying monarch, the Gothic chiefs and Italian magiftrates mutually engaged their faith and lovalty to the young prince, and to his guardian mother: and received in the same awful moment, his last falutary advice, to maintain the laws, to love the

¹⁰³ Procopius, Goth. l.i. c. 1. But he might have informed us. whether he had received this curious anecdote from common report, or from the mouth of the royal physician.

¹c4 Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 1, 2. 12, 13. This partition had been directed by Theodoric, though it was not executed till after his death. Regni hereditatem superstes reliquit (Isidor. Chron. p. 721. edit.

¹⁰⁵ Berimund, the third in descent from Hurmanric, King of the Ostrogoths, had retired into Spain, where he lived and died in obscurity (Jornandes, c. 33. p. 202. edit. Murator.). See the discovery, nuptials, and death of his grandfon Eutharic (c. 58. p. 220.). His Roman games might render him popular (Caffiodor. in Chron.), but Eutharic was afper in religione (Anonym. Vales. p. 722, 723.).

fenate and people of Rome, and to cultivate CHAP. with decent reverence the friendship of the XXXIX. Emperor 106. The monument of Theodoric was erected by his daughter Amalafuntha, in a confpicuous fituation, which commanded the city of Ravenna, the harbour, and the adjacent coast. A chapel of a circular form, thirty feet in diameter, is crowned by a dome of one entire piece of granite: from the centre of the dome, four columns arose, which supported, in a vase of porphyry, the remains of the Gothic king, furrounded by the brazen statues of the twelve apostles 107. His spirit, after some previous expiation, might have been permitted to mingle with the benefactors of mankind, if an Italian hermit had not been witness in a vision to the damnation of Theodoric xos, whose foul was plunged, by the ministers of divine vengeance, into the vulcano of Lipari, one of the flaming mouths of the infernal world 109.

105 See the counsels of Theodoric, and the professions of his successfor, in Procopius (Goth.l.i.c.1, 2.), Jornandes (c. 59. p. 220, 221.), and Cassiodorius (Var. viii. 1—7.). These epistles are the triumph of his ministerial eloquence.

¹⁰⁷ Anonym, Vales p. 724. Agnellus de Vitis Pont. Raven. in Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. ii. P. i. p. 67. Alberti Descrittione d'Italia, p. 311.

by Baronius (A. D. 526. No. 28.); and both the Pope and Cardinal are grave doctors, fufficient to establish a *probable* opinion.

109 Theodoric himself, or rather Cassiodorius, had described in tragic strains the vulcanos of Lipari (Cluver. Sicilia, p. 406—410.), and Vesuvius (iv. 50.).

CHAP. XL.

Elevation of Justin the Elder. — Reign of Justinian:-I. The Empress Theodord.-II. Factions of the Circus, and Sedition of Constantinople.—III. Trade and Manufacture of Silk. -IV. Finances and Taxes.-V. Edifices of Justinian. — Church of St. Sophia. — Fortifications and Frontiers of the Eastern Empire. - Abolition of the Schools of Athens, and the Confulship of Rome.

XL. Birth of the Emperor Justinian, A. D. 482, May 5 .or A. D. 483, May 11.

CHAP. THE Emperor Justinian was born near the ruins of Sardica (the modern Sophia), of an obscure race 2 of Barbarians 3, the inhabitants of a wild and defolate country, to which the names of Dardania, of Dacia, and of Bulgaria, have been fucceffively applied. His elevation was prepared by the adventurous spirit of his uncle Justin, who, with two other peasants of the fame village, deferted for the profession of arms the more useful employment of husbandmen or

There is some difficulty in the date of his birth (Ludewig in Vit. Juffiniani, p. 125.); none in the place—the diffrict Bederiana - the village Taurefium, which he afterwards decorated with his name and iplendour (D'Anville, Hift. de. l'Acad. &c. tom. xxxi. p. 287-292.).

² The names of these Dardanian peasants are Gothic, and almost English: Justinian is a translation of uprauda (upright); his father Sabatius (in Græco-barbarous language flipes) was styled in his village Istock (Stock); his mother Bigleniza was foftened into Vigilantia.

³ Ludewig (p. 127-135.) attempts to justify the Anician name of Justinian and Theodora, and to connect them with a family from which the house of Austria has been derived.

shepherds 4. On foot, with a scanty provision CHAP. of biscuit in their knapsacks, the three youths, followed the high road of Constantinople, and were foon enrolled, for their strength and stature, among the guards of the Emperor Leo. Under the two fucceeding reigns, the fortunate peafant emerged to wealth and honours; and his escape from some dangers which threatened his life was afterwards afcribed to the guardian angel who watches over the fate of kings. His long and laudable fervice in the Isaurian and Perfian wars would not have preferved from oblivion the name of Justin; yet they might warrant the military promotion, which in the course of fifty years he gradually obtained; the rank of tribune, of count, and of general, the dignity of fenator, and the command of the guards, who obeyed him as their chief, at the important crifis when the Emperor Anastasius was removed from the world. The powerful kinfmen whom he had raifed and enriched were excluded from the throne; and the eunuch Amantius, who reigned in the palace, had fecretly refolved to fix the diadem on the head of the most obsequious of his creatures. A liberal donative, to conciliate the fuffrage of the guards, was entrusted for that purpose in the hands of their commander. But these weighty arguments were treacheroufly employed by Justin

⁴ See the anecdotes of Procopius (c. 6.) with the notes of N. Alemannus. The fatirift would not have funk, in the vague and decent appellation of γεωργώ, the βεκολώ and συφορβώ of Zonaras. Yet why are those names difgraceful?—and what German baron would not be proud to descend from the Eumæus of the Odyssey?

XL. Elevation and reign of his uncle Justin I. A. D. 518, July 10.: April I .or Aug. 1.

CHAP, in his own favour; and as no competitor prefumed to appear, the Dacian peafant was invested with the purple, by the unanimous confent of the foldiers who knew him to be brave and gentle, of the clergy and people who believed him to be orthodox, and of the provincials who yielded a blind and implicit fub-A. D. 527, mission to the will of the capital. The elder Justin, as he is distinguished from another emperor of the fame family and name, ascended the Byzantine throne at the age of fixtyeight years; and, had he been left to his own guidance, every moment of a nine years reign must have exposed to his subjects the impropriety of their choice. His ignorance was fimilar to that of Theodoric; and it is remarkable, that in an age not destitute of learning, two contemporary monarchs had never been instructed in the knowledge of the alphabet. But the genius of Justin was far inferior to that of the Gothic king: the experience of a foldier had not qualified him for the government of an empire; and, though perfonally brave, the consciousness of his own weakness was naturally attended with doubt, diffruft, and political apprehension. But the official business of the state was diligently and faithfully transacted by the quæstor Proclus; and the aged Emperor adopted the talents and ambition of his nephew Justinian, an aspiring youth, whom his uncle had drawn from the ruftic folitude of

Dacia,

⁵ His virtues are praised by Procopius (Persic. l.i. c. 11.). The quæstor Proclus was the friend of Justinian, and the enemy of every other adoption.

Dacia, and educated at Conftantinople, as the CHAP. heir of his private fortune, and at length of the , XL. Eastern empire.

Since the eunuch Amantius had been de- Adoption frauded of his money; it became necessary to and sucdeprive him of his life. The task was easily Justianian, accomplished by the charge of a real or fictitious conspiracy; and the judges were informed, as an accumulation of guilt, that he was fecretly addicted to the Manichæan herefy. Amantius loft his head; three of his companions, the first domestics of the palace, were punished either with death or exile; and their unfortunate candidate for the purple was cast into a deep dungeon, overwhelmed with stones, and ignominiously thrown, without burial, into the fea. The ruin of Vitalian was a work of more difficulty and danger. That Gothic chief had rendered himfelf popular by the civil war which he boldly waged against Anastasius for the defence of the orthodox faith, and after the conclusion of an advantageous treaty, he still remained in the neighbourhood of Constantinople at the head of a formidable and victorious army of barbarians. By the frail fecurity of oaths, he was tempted to relinquish this advantageous fituation, and to trust his person within the walls of a city, whose inhabitants particularly the blue faction, were artfully incenfed against him by the remem-

520-527.

brance

⁶ Manichæan fignifies Eutychian. Hear the furious acclamations of Constantinople and Tyre, the former no more than fix days after the decease of Anastasius. They produced, the latter applauded, the eunuch's death (Baronius. A. D. 518. P. ii. No. 15. Fleury, Hift. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 200. 205. from the Councils, tom. v. p. 182. 207.

C H A P. brance even of his pious hostilities. The Emperor and his nephew embraced him as the faithful and worthy champion of the church and ftate; and gratefully adorned their favourite with the titles of conful and general; but in the feventh month of his confulship, Vitalian was flabbed with feventeen wounds at the royal banquet'; and Justinian, who inherited the spoil, was accused as the affassin of a spiritual brother, to whom he had recently pledged his faith in the participation of the Christian mysteries s. After the fall of his rival, he was promoted, without any claim of military fervice, to the office of master-general of the Eastern armies, whom it was his duty to lead into the field against the public enemy. But, in the pursuit of fame, Justinian might have lost his present dominion over the age and weakness of his uncle; and instead of acquiring by Scythian or Perfian trophies the applause of his countrymen, the prudent warrior folicited their favour in the churches, the circus, and the fenate, of Conftantinople. The Catholics were attached to the ne-

8 Justiniani patricii factione dicitur interfectus fuisse (Victor Tununensis, Chron. in Thesaur. Temp. Scaliger, P. ii. p. 7.). Procopius (Anecdot. c. 7.) Ityles him a tyrant, but acknowledges the αδελφοπιςια, which is well explained by Alemannus.

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⁷ His power, character, and intentions, are perfectly explained by the Count de Buat (tom. ix. p. 54-81.). He was great-grandfon of Aspar, hereditary prince in the Lesser Scythia, and count of the Gothic faderati of Thrace. The Beffi, whom he could influence, are the minor Goths of Jornandes (c. 51.).

⁹ In his earliest youth (plane adolescens) he had passed some time as an hostage with Theodoric. For this curious fact, Alemannus (ad Procop. Anecdot. c. 9. p. 34. of the first edition) quotes a MS. history of Justinian, by his preceptor Theophilus. Ludewig (p. 143.) wishes to make him a foldier.

phew of Justin, who, between the Nestorian and CHAP, Eutychian herefies, trod the narrow path of inflexible and intolerant orthodoxy 10. In the first days of the new reign, he prompted and gratified the popular enthusiasm against the memory of the deceased Emperor. After a schism of thirty-four years, he reconciled the proud and angry spirit of the Roman pontiff, and spread among the Latins a favourable report of his pious respect for the apostolic see. The thrones of the East were filled with Catholic bishops devoted to his interest, the clergy and the monks were gained by his liberality, and the people were taught to pray for their future fovereign, the hope and pillar of the true religion. The magnificence of Justinian was displayed in the superior pomp of his public spectacles, an object not less facred and important in the eyes of the multitude than the creed of Nice or Chalcedon: the expence of his confulfhip was esteemed at two hundred and eighty-eight thousand pieces of gold; twenty lions, and thirty leopards, were produced at the fame time in the amphitheatre, and a numerous train of horses, with their rich trappings, was bestowed as an extraordinary gift on the victorious charioteers of the circus. While he indulged the people of Conftantinople, and received the addresses of foreign kings, the nephew of Justin assiduously cultivated the friendship of the fenate. That venerable name feemed to

¹⁰ The ecclefiaftical hiftory of Justinian will be shewn hereafter. See Baronius, A. D. 518-521, and the copious article Justinianus in the index to the viith volume of his Annals.

C H A P. qualify its members to declare the fense of the nation, and to regulate the succession of the Imperial throne: the feeble Anastasius had permitted the vigour of government to degenerate into the form or substance of an aristocracy; and the military officers who had obtained the fenatorial rank, were followed by their domestic guards, a band of veterans, whose arms or acclamations might fix in a tumultuous moment the diadem of the East. The treasures of the state were lavished to procure the voices of the senators, and their unanimous wish, that he would be pleased to adopt Justinian for his colleague, was communicated to the Emperor. request, which too clearly admonished him of his approaching end, was unwelcome to the jealous temper of an aged monarch, defirous to retain the power which he was incapable of exercifing: and Justin, holding his purple with both his hands, advised them to prefer, fince an election was so profitable, some older candidate. Notwithflanding this reproach, the fenate proceeded to decorate Justinian with the royal epithet of nobilishmus; and their decree was ratified by the affection or the fears of his uncle. After some time the languor of mind and body, to which he was reduced by an incurable wound in his thigh, indispensably required the aid of a guardian. He fummoned the patriarch and fenators; and in their prefence folemnly placed the diadem on the head of his nephew, who was conducted from the palace to the circus, and faluted by the loud and joyful applause of the people.

people. The life of Justin was prolonged about CHAP. four months, but from the instant of this ceremony, he was confidered as dead to the empire, which acknowledged Justinian, in the forty-fifth year of his age, for the lawful fovereign of the East 11.

From his elevation to his death, Justinian The reign governed the Roman empire thirty-eight years, of Juffinifeven months, and thirteen days. The events 527, April of his reign, which excite our curious attention I.-A.D. by their number, variety, and importance, are 565, Nov. diligently related by the fecretary of Belifarius, a rhetorician whom eloquence had promoted to the rank of fenator and præfect of Constantinople. According to the viciffitudes of courage or fervitude, of favour or difgrace, Procopious 12 Character fucceffively composed the history, the panegyric, and histories of Proand the fatire of his own times. The eight copius. books of the Perfian, Vandalic, and Gothic wars 13, which are continued in the five books of

an, A. D.

" The reign of the elder Justin may be found in the three Chronicles of Marcellinus, Victor, and John Malala (tom. ii. p. 130-150.), the last of whom (in spite of Hody, Prolegom. No. 14. 39. edit. Oxon.) Lived foon after Justinian (Jortin's Remarks, &c. vol. iv. p. 383.), in the Ecclefiaftical Hiftory of Evagrius (l. iv. c. 1, 2, 3. 9.), and the Excerpta of Theodorus (Lector. No. 37.), and in Cedrenus (p. 362-366.) and Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 58-61.), who may pass for an original.

12 See the characters of Procopius and Agathias in La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii. p. 144—174.), Vossius (de Historicis Græcis, 1. ii. c. 22.), and Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. v. c. 5. tom vi. p. 248-278.). Their religion, an honourable problem, betrays occasional conformity, with a fecret attachment to Paganism and Philosophy.

13 In the seven first books, two Persic, two Vandalic, and three Gothic, Procopius has borrowed from Appian the division of provinces and wars: the viiith book, though it bears the name of Gothic, is a miscellaneous and general supplement down to the spring of the year 553, from whence it is continued by Agathias till 559 (Pagi, Critica, A. D. 579, No. 5.).

Agathias,

CHAP. Agathias, deserve our esteem as a laborious and fuccessful imitation of the Attic, or at least of the Afiatic writers of ancient Greece. His facts are collected from the perfonal experience and free conversation of a foldier, a statesman, and a traveller; his ftyle continually aspires, and often attains, to the merit of strength and elegance; his reflections, more especially in the speeches which he too frequently inserts, contain a rich fund of political knowledge; and the historian, excited by the generous ambition of pleasing and instructing posterity, appears to disdain the prejudices of the people, and the flattery of courts. The writings of Procopius 14 were read and applauded by his contemporaries 15; but, although he respectfully laid them at the foot of the throne, the pride of Justinian must have been wounded by the praise of an hero, who perpetually eclipses the glory of his

15 Agathias in Præfat. p. 7, 8. l. iv. p. 137. Evagrius, l. iv. c. 12. See likewife Photius, cod. lxiii. p. 65.

¹⁴ The literary fate of Procopius has been somewhat unlucky. 1. His books de Bello Gothico were stolen by Leonard Aretin, and published (Fulginii, 1470. Venet. 1471. apud Janson. Mattaire, Annal. Typograph. tom. i. edit. posterior, p. 290. 304. 279. 299.) in his own name (See Vossius de Hist. Lat. l. iii. c. 5. and the feeble defence of the Venice Giornale de Letterati, tom. xix. p. 207.). 2. His works were mutilated by the first Latin translators, Chistopher Persona (Giornale, tom. xix. p. 340-348.) and Raphael de Volaterra (Huet, de Claris. Interpretibus, p. 166. who did not even confult the MS. of the Vatican library, of which they were præfects (Aleman. in Præfat. Anecdot.). 3. The Greek text was not printed till 1607, by Hoeschelius of Augsburg (Dictionaire de Bayle, tom. ii. p. 782.). 4. The Paris edition was imperfectly executed by Claude Maltret, a Jesuit of Thoulouse (in 1663), far distant from the Louvre press and the Vatican MS., from which, however, he obtained fome supplements. His promised commentaries, &c. have never appeared. The Agathias of Leyden (1594) has been wifely reprinted by the Paris editor, with the Latin version of Bonaventura Vulcanius, a learned interpreter (Huet, p. 176.).

inactive fovereign. The conscious dignity of CHAP. independence was fubdued by the hopes and fears of a flave; and the fecretary of Belifarius laboured for pardon and reward in the fix books of the Imperial edifices. He had dextroufly chosen a subject of apparent splendour in which he could loudly celebrate the genius, the magnificence, and the piety of a prince, who, both as a conqueror and legislator, had surpassed the puerile virtues of Themistocles and Cyrus 16. Disappointment might urge the flatterer to secret revenge; and the first glance of favour might again tempt him to fuspend and suppress a libel 17, in which the Roman Cyrus is degraded into an odious and contemptible tyrant, in which both the Emperor and his confort Theodora are feriously represented as two dæmons, who had affumed an human form for the destruction of mankind 18. Such base inconfiftency must doubtless fully the reputation, and detract from the credit, of Procopius: yet,

15 Κυρε παιδεια (fays he, Præfat. ad 1. de Edificiis πεςι ατισματων) is no more than Κυρε παιδια — a pun! In these five books, Procopius affects a Christian as well as a courtly style.

¹⁷ Procopius discloses himself (Præsat ad Anecdot. c. 1, 2. 5.), and the anecdotes are reckoned as the ixth book by Suidas (tom. iii. p. 186. edit. Kuster). The silence of Evagrius is a poor objection. Baronius (A. D. 548, No. 24.) regrets the loss of this secret history; it was then in the Vatican library, in his own custody, and was first published sixteen years after his death, with the learned, but partial, notes of Nicholas Alemannus (Lugd. 1623.).

.¹⁸ Justinian an ass—the perfect likeness of Domitian—(Anecdot. c. 8.)—Theodora's lovers driven from her bed by rival dæmons—her marriage foretold with a great dæmon—a monk saw the prince of the dæmons, instead of Justinian, on the throne—the servants who watched beheld a face without features, a body walking without a head, &c. &c. Procopius declares his own and his friends' belief in these diabolical stories (c. 12.).

CHAP. after the venom of his malignity has been fuffered to exhale, the refidue of the anecdotes, even the most disgraceful facts, some of which had been tenderly hinted in his public history, are established by their internal evidence, or the authentic monuments of the times 19. From these various materials, I shall now proceed to describe the reign of Justinian, which will deferve and occupy an ample space. The present chapter will explain the elevation and character of Theodora, the factions of the circus, and the peaceful administration of the sovereign of the East. In the three fucceeding chapters, I shall relate the wars of Justinian which atchieved the conquest of Africa and Italy; and I shall follow the victories of Belifarius and Narses, without difguifing the vanity of their triumphs, or the hostile virtue of the Persian and Gothic heroes. The feries of this and the following volume will embrace the jurifprudence and theology of the Emperor; the controversies and sects which still divide the Oriental church; the reformation of the Roman law which is obeyed or respected by

Division of the reign of Justinian.

> Birth and vices of the Empress Theodora.

the nations of modern Europe. I. In the exercise of supreme power, the first act of Justinian was to divide it with the woman whom he loved, the famous Theodora 20, whose

For the life and manners of the Empress Theodora, see the Anecdotes; more especially c.1-5. 9, 10-15, 16, 17. with the learned notes of Alemannus - a reference which is always implied.

ftrange

¹⁹ Montesquieu (Considerations fur la Grandeur et la Decadence des Romains, c. xx.) gives credit to these anecdotes, as connected, I. with the weakness of the empire, and, 2. with the instability of Justinian's laws.

strange elevation cannot be applauded as the CHAP. triumph of female virtue. Under the reign of Anastasius, the care of the wild beasts maintained by the green faction of Constantinople, was entrusted to Acacius, a native of the isle of Cyprus, who, from his employment, was furnamed the mafter of the bears. This honourable office was given after his death to another candidate, notwithstanding the diligence of his widow, who had already provided a hufband and a fuccesfor. Acacius had left three daughters, Comito 21, THEODORA, and Anastasia, the eldest of whom did not then exceed the age of feven. years. On a folemn festival, these helpless orphans were fent by their diffressed and indignant mother, in the garb of suppliants, into the midst of the theatre: the green faction received them with contempt, the blues with compassion; and this difference, which funk deep into the mind of Theodora, was felt long afterwards in the administration of the empire. As they improved in age and beauty, the three fifters were fuccessively devoted to the publick and private pleasures of the Byzantine people; and Theodora, after following Comito on the stage in the dress of a slave, with a stool on her head, was at length permitted to exercise her independent She neither danced, nor fung, nor played on the flute; her skill was confined to the

²¹ Comito was afterwards married to Sittas Duke of Armenia, the father, perhaps, at least the might be the mother, of the Empress Sophia. Two nephews of Theodora may be the sons of Anastasia (Aleman. p. 30, 31.).

CHAP. pantomime arts: she excelled in buffoon characters, and as often as the comedian swelled her cheeks, and complained with a ridiculous tone and gesture of the blows that were inflicted, the whole theatre of Constantinople resounded with laughter and applause. The beauty of Theodora²² was the fubject of more flattering praise, and the source of more exquisite delight. Her features were delicate and regular; her complexion, though fomewhat pale, was tinged with a natural colour; every fenfation was inflantly expressed by the vivacity of her eyes; her eafy motions difplayed the graces of a fmall but elegant figure; and either love or adulation might proclaim, that painting and poetry were incapable of delineating the matchless excellence of her form. But this form was degraded by the facility with which it was exposed to the public eye, and proftituted to licentious defire. Her venal charms were abandoned to a promifcuous crowd of citizens and ftrangers, of every rank, and of every profession; the fortunate lover who had been promifed a night of enjoyment, was often driven from her bed by a stronger or more wealthy favourite; and when she passed through the ftreets, her presence was avoided by all who wished to escape either the scandal or the temptation. The fatirical historian has not blushed23

²³ A fragment of the Anecdotes (c. 9.) fomewhat too naked, was suppressed by Alemannus, though extant in the Vatican MS.; nor has

²² Her statue was raised at Constantinople, on a porphyry column. See Procopius (de Edif. 1. i. c. 11.), who gives her portrait in the Anecdotes (c. 10.). Aleman (p. 47.) produces one from a Mofaic at Ravenna, loaded with pearls and jewels, and yet handsome.

to describe the naked scenes which Theodora CHAP. was not ashamed to exhibit in the theatre24, After exhausting the arts of sensual pleasure 25, fhe most ungratefully murmured against the parfimony of Nature 26: but her murmurs, her pleafures, and her arts, must be veiled in the obscurity of a learned language. After reigning for fome time, the delight and contempt of the capital, she condescended to accompany Ecebolus, a native of Tyre, who had obtained the government of the African Pentapolis. this union was frail and transfient: Ecebolus foon rejected an expensive or faithless concubine; she was reduced at Alexandria to extreme diffress; and in her laborious return to Constantinople, every city of the East admired and enjoyed the fair Cyprian, whose merit appeared to justify her descent from the peculiar island of

the defect been supplied in the Paris or Venice editions. La Mothe le Vayer (tom viii. p. 155.) gave the first hint of this curious and genuine passage (Jortin's Remarks, vol. iv. p. 366.), which he had received from Rome, and it has been since published in the Menagiana (tom. iii. p. 254—259.), with a Latin version.

24 After the mention of a narrow girdle (as none could appear flark-naked in the theatre), Procopius thus proceeds: αναπεπτοκνία τε εν τω εδαφει υπτια εκείτο. Θητές δε τίνες κρίθας άυτη υπερθεν των αιδοίων ερριπτον άς δε δι χηνες, δι ες τυτο παρεσχευασμενοι εντυγχανον τοις τομασιν ειθενδε κατα μιαν ανελομενοι εισθίον. I have heard that a learned prelate, now deceased, was fond of quoting this passage in conversation.

²⁵ Theodora surpassed the Crispa of Ausonius (Epigram lxxi.), who imitated the capitalis luxus of the females of Nola. See Quintilian Institut. viii. 6. and Torrentius ad Horat. Sermon. l. i. sat. 2. v. 101. At a memorable supper, thirty slaves waited round the table; ten young men feasted with Theodora. Her charity was universal.

Et lassata viris, necdum satiata, recessit.

26 Hde κακ τριων τρυπηματων εργαζομενη ενεκαλει τη Φυσει δυσφορεμενηστί δε μη και τίζτως αυτη εύρυτερον η νυν εισι τρυπωη, οπως δυνατε ειη και εκείνη εργαζεσθαι. She wished for a fourth altar, on which she might pour libations to the god of love.

The vague commerce of Theodora, CHAP. Venus. and the most detestable precautions, preserved her from the danger which she feared; yet once, and once only, she became a mother. The infant was faved and educated in Arabia, by his father, who imparted to him on his death-bed, that he was the fon of an empress. Filled with ambitious hopes, the unfuspecting youth immediately hastened to the palace of Constantinople, and was admitted to the presence of his mother. As he was never more feen, even after the decease of Theodora, she deserves the foul imputation of extinguishing with his life a fecret fo offensive to her Imperial virtue.

Her marriage with Juftinian.

In the most abject state of her fortune and reputation, fome vifion, either of fleep, or of fancy, had whifpered to Theodora the pleafing affurance that she was destined to become the spouse of a potent monarch. Conscious of her approaching greatness, she returned from Paphlagonia to Constantinople; assumed, like a skilful actress, a more decent character; relieved her poverty by the laudable industry of spinning wool; and affected a life of chaftity and folitude in a small house, which she afterwards changed into a magnificent temple 27. beauty, affifted by art or accident, foon attracted, captivated, and fixed, the patrician Juftinian, who already reigned with absolute sway

²⁷ Anonym. de Antiquitat. C. P. l. iii. 132. in Banduri Imperium Orient. tom. i. p. 48. Ludewig (p. 154.) argues fenfibly that Theodora would not have immortalifed a brothel: but I apply this fact to her fecond and chafter refidence at Constantinople.

under the name of his uncle. Perhaps the con- C H A P. trived to enhance the value of a gift which she had so often lavished on the meanest of mankind; perhaps she inflamed, at first by modest delays, and at last by sensual allurements, the defires of a lover, who from nature or devotion was addicted to long vigils and abstemious diet. When his first transports had subsided, she still maintained the fame afcendant over his mind, by the more folid merit of temper and understanding. Justinian delighted to ennoble and enrich the object of his affection; the treasures of the East were poured at her feet, and the nephew of Justin was determined, perhaps by religious scruples, to bestow on his concubine the facred and legal character of a wife. But the laws of Rome expressly prohibited the marriage of a fenator with any female who had been dishonoured by a servile origin or theatrical profession; the Empress Lupicina, or Euphemia, a barbarian of ruftic manners, but of irreproachable virtue, refused to accept a prostitute for her niece; and even Vigilantia, the fuperstitious mother of Justinian, though fhe acknowledged the wit and beauty of Theodora, was feriously apprehensive, left the levity and arrogance of that artful paramour might corrupt the piety and happiness of her son. These obstacles were removed by the inflexible constancy of Justinian. He patiently expected the death of the Empress; he despised the tears of his mother, who foon funk under the weight of her affliction; and a law was promulgated in the name of the Emperor Justin, which abolished

CHAP. the rigid juriforudence of antiquity. A glorious repentance (the words of the edict) was left open for the unhappy females who had proftituted their persons on the theatre, and they were permitted to contract a legal union with the most illustrious of the Romans 28. indulgence was speedily followed by the solemn nuptials of Justinian and Theodora; her dignity was gradually exalted with that of her lover; and, as foon as Justin had invested his nephew with the purple, the patriarch of Constantinople placed the diadem on the heads of the Emperor and Empress of the East. But the usual honours which the feverity of Roman manners had allowed to the wives of princes, could not fatisfy either the ambition of Theodora or the fondness of Justinian. He seated her on the throne as an equal and independent colleague in the fovereignty of the empire, and an oath of allegiance was imposed on the governors of the provinces in the joint names of Justinian and Theodora 29. The Eastern world fell proftrate before the genius and fortune of the daughter of Acacius. The profitute who, in the presence of innumerable spectators, had

polluted

²⁸ See the old law in Justinian's Code (l. v. tit. v. leg. 7. tit. xxvii. leg. 1) under the years 336 and 454. The new edict (about the year 521 or 522. Aleman. p. 38. 96.) very awkwardly repeals no more than the clause of mulieres scenica, libertina, tabernaria. See the novels 89 and 117. and a Greek rescript from Justinian to the bishops (Aleman. p. 41.).

²⁹ I fwear by the Father, &c. by the Virgin Mary, by the four Gofpels, quæ in manibus teneo, and by the holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel, puram conscientiam germanumque servitium me servaturum, facratissimis DDNN. Justiniano et Theodoræ conjugi ejus (Novell, viii. tit. 3.). Would the oath have been binding in favour of the widow? Communes tituli et triumphi, &c. (Aleman. p. 47, 48.).

polluted the theatre of Conftantinople, was CHAP adored as a queen in the fame city, by grave magistrates, orthodox bishops, victorious generals, and captive monarchs 3°.

Those who believe that the female mind is totally depraved by the loss of chastity, will eagerly liften to all the invectives of private envy or popular refentment, which have diffembled the virtues of Theodora, exaggerated her vices, and condemned with rigour the venal or voluntary fins of the youthful harlot. From a motive of shame, or contempt, she often declined the fervile homage of the multitude, escaped from the odious light of the capital, and paffed the greatest part of the year in the palaces and gardens which were pleafantly feated on the feacoast of the Propontis and the Bosphorus. Her private hours were devoted to the prudent as well as grateful care of her beauty, the luxury of the bath and table, and the long flumber of the evening andthe morning. Her fecret apartments were occupied by the favourite women and eunuchs, whose interests and passions she indulged at the expence of justice; the most illustrious personages of the state were crowded into a dark and fultry antichamber, and when at last, after tedious attendance, they were admitted to kiss the feet of Theodora, they experienced, as her humour might fuggest, the filent arrogance of an empress, or the capricious levity

^{30 &}quot;Let greatness own her, and she's mean no more," &c. Without Warburton's critical telescope, I should never have seen, in the general picture of triumphant vice, any personal allusion to Theodora.

CHAP. of a comedian. Her rapacious avarice to accumulate an immense treasure, may be excused by the apprehension of her husband's death, which could leave no alternative between ruin and the throne; and fear as well as ambition might exasperate Theodora against two generals, who during a malady of the Emperor had rashly declared that they were not disposed to acquiesce in the choice of the capital. But the reproach of cruelty, fo repugnant even to her fofter vices, has left an indelible stain on the memory of Theodora. Her numerous spies observed, and zealously reported, every action, or word, or look, injurious to their royal mistress. Whomfoever they accused were cast into her peculiar prifons 31, inacceffible to the inquiries of justice; and it was rumoured, that the torture of the rack, or fcourge, had been inflicted in the prefense of a female tyrant, infensible to the voice of prayer or of pity 32. Some of these unhappy victims perished in deep unwholesome dungeons, while others were permitted, after the loss of their limbs, their reason, or their fortune, to appear in the world the living monuments of her vengeance, which was commonly extended to the children of those whom she had suspected or injured. The fenator or bishop, whose death or exile Theodora had pronounced, was delivered to a trufty meffenger, and his diligence was

³² A more jocular whipping was inflicted on Saturnius, for prefuming to fay that his wife, a favourite of the Empress, had not been found atpatos (Anecdot. c. 17.).

quickened

³¹ Her prisons, a labyrinth, a Tartarus (Anecdot. c. 4.), were under the palace. Darkness is propitious to cruelty, but it is likewise favourable to calumny and siction.

quickened by a menace from her own mouth. CHAP. "If you fail in the execution of my commands."

" I fwear by him who liveth for ever, that your

" skin shall be flayed from your body "."

If the creed of Theodora had not been tainted Her virwith herefy, her exemplary devotion might have atoned, in the opinion of her contemporaries, for pride, avarice, and cruelty. But if she employed her influence to affuage the intolerant fury of the Emperor, the present age will allow some merit to her religion, and much indulgence to her fpeculative errors 34. The name of Theodora was introduced, with equal honour, in all the pious and charitable foundations of Justinian; and the most benevolent institution of his reign may be ascribed to the sympathy of the Empress for her less fortunate fifters, who had been seduced or compelled to embrace the trade of proftitution. A palace, on the Afiatic fide of the Bosphorus, was converted into a flately and spacious monastery, and a liberal maintenance was affigned to five hundred women, who had been collected from the streets and brothels of Constantinople. this fafe and holy retreat, they were devoted to perpetual confinement; and the despair of some. who threw themselves headlong into the sea, was loft in the gratitude of the penitents, who had been delivered from fin and mifery by their generous benefactress 35. The prudence of Theo-

³³ Per viventem in fœcula excoriari te faciam. Anastasius de Vitis Pont. in Roman. in Vigilio, p. 40.

³⁺ Ludewig, p. 161—166. I give him credit for the charitable attempt, although be hath not much charity in his temper.

³⁵ Compare the Anecdotes (c. 17.) with the Edifices (l.i. c. 9.)—how differently

CHAP. dora is celebrated by Justinian himself; and his laws are attributed to the fage counfels of his most reverend wife, whom he had received as the gift of the Deity 36. Her courage was difplayed amidft the tumult of the people and the terrors of the court. Her chastity, from the moment of her union with Justinian, is founded on the filence of her implacable enemies; and, although the daughter of Acacius might be fatiated with love, vet some applause is due to the firmness of a mind which could facrifice pleasure and habit to the stronger sense either of duty or interest. The wishes and prayers of Theodora could never obtain the bleffing of a lawful fon, and the buried an infant daughter, the fole offfpring of her marriage 37. Notwithstanding this disappointment, her dominion was permanent and absolute; she preserved, by art or merit, the affections of Justinian; and their seeming disfenfions were always fatal to the courtiers who believed them to be fincere. Perhaps her health had been impaired by the licentiousness of her youth; but it was always delicate, and she was directed by her physicians to use the Pythian warm baths. In this journey, the Empress was followed by the prætorian præfect, the great treasurer, several counts and patricians, and a

30 Novel. viii. 1. An allusion to Theodora. Her enemies read the name Dæmonodora (Aleman. p. 66.).

differently may the same fact be stated! John Malala (tom. ii. p. 174, 175.) observes, that on this, or a fimilar occasion, she released and clothed the girls whom she had purchased from the stews at five aurei a-piece.

³⁷ St. Sabas refused to pray for a son of Theodora, left he should prove an heretic worse than Anastasius himself (Cyril in Vit. St. Sabæ. apud Aleman, p. 70. 109.).

folendid train of four thousand attendants: the CHAP. highways were repaired at her approach; a palace was erected for her reception; and as she paffed through Bithynia, fhe distributed liberal alms to the churches, the monasteries, and the hospitals, that they might implore heaven for the restoration of her health 38. At length, in the and death, twenty-fourth year of her marriage, and the A.D. 548, twenty-fecond of her reign, she was confumed by a cancer 39; and the irreparable loss was deplored by her husband, who, in the room of a theatrical profitute, might have felected the pureft and most noble virgin of the East 40.

II. A material difference may be observed in The facthe games of antiquity: the most eminent of the circus: Greeks were actors, the Romans were merely fpectators. The Olympic stadium was open to wealth, merit, and ambition; and if the candidates could depend on their perfonal skill and activity, they might purfue the footsteps of Diomede and Menelaus, and conduct their own horses in the rapid career 41. Ten, twenty, forty, chariots.

38 See John Malala, tom. ii. p. 174. Theophanes, p. 158. Procopius de Edific. l. v. c. 3.

39 Theodora Chalcedonenfis fynodi inimica canceris plaga toto corpore perfusa vitam prodigiose finivit (Victor Tununensis in Chron.). On fuch occasions, an orthodox mind is steeled against pity. Alemannus (p. 12, 13.) understands the ευσεβως εκοιμήθη of Theophanes as civil language, which does not imply either piety or repentance; yet two years after her death, St. Theodora is celebrated by Paul Silentiarius (in Proem. v. 58-62.).

40 As the perfecuted the popes, and rejected a council, Baronius exhaufts the names of Eve, Dalila, Herodias, &c.: after which he has recourfe to his infernal-dictionary: civis inferni - alumna dæmonum - satanico agitata spiritû - æstro percita diabolico, &c. &c. (A. D. 548, No. 24.)

41 Read and feel the xxiiid book of the Iliad, a living picture of manners, passions, and the whole form and spirit of the chariet race.

CHAP. chariots, were allowed to flart at the same instant: a crown of leaves was the reward of the victor; and his fame, with that of his family and country, was chaunted in lyric ftrains more durable than monuments of brass and marble. But a fenator, or even a citizen, conscious of his dignity, would have blushed to expose his person or his horses in the circus of Rome. The games were exhibited at the expence of the re--public, the magistrates, or the emperors: but the reins were abandoned to fervile hands; and if the profits of a favourite charioteer fometimes exceeded those of an advocate, they must be confidered as the effects of popular extravagance, and the high wages of a difgraceful profession. The race, in its first institution, was a simple contest of two chariots, whose drivers were diftinguished by white and red liveries; two additional colours, a light green, and a cærulean blue, were afterwards introduced; and as the races were repeated twenty-five times, one hundred chariots contributed in the same day to the pomp of the circus. The four factions foon acquired a legal establishment, and a mysterious origin, and their fanciful colours were derived from the various appearances of nature in the four feafons of the year; the red dog-star of fummer, the fnows of winter, the deep shades of autumn, and the cheerful verdure of the spring 42. Another

> West's Differtation on the Olympic Games (sect. xii-xvii.) affords much curious and authentic information.

⁴² The four colours, albati, russati, prasini, veneti, represent the four feafons, according to Caffiodorius (Var. iii. 51.), who lavishes much

Another interpretation preferred the elements to CHAP. the feafons, and the struggle of the green and blue was supposed to represent the conflict of the earth Their respective victories announced and fea. either a plentiful harvest or a prosperous navigation, and the hostility of the husbandmen and mariners was fomewhat less abfurd than the blind ardour of the Roman people, who devoted their lives and fortunes to the colour which they had espoused. Such folly was disdained and indulged by the wifest princes; but the names of Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Verus, Commodus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus, were enrolled in the blue or green factions of the circus: they frequented at Rome, their stables, applauded their favourites, chaftised their antagonists, and deserved the esteem of the populace, by the natural or affected imitation of their manners. The bloody and tumultuous contest continued to disturb the public festivity, till the last age of the spectacles of Rome; and Theodoric, from a motive of justice or affection, interposed his authority to protect the greens against the violence of a conful and a patrician, who were passionately addicted to the blue faction of the circus 43.

Constantinople adopted the follies, though not They difthe virtues, of ancient Rome; and the same fac-

tract Conflantinople. and the

wit and eloquence on this theatrical mystery. Of these colours, the three first may be fairly translated white, red, and green. Venetus is explained by caruleus, a word various and vague: it is properly the fky reflected in the fea; but cuftom and convenience may allow blue as an equivalent (Robert. Stephan. fub voce Spence's Polymetis, p. 228.).

43 See Onuphrius Panvinius de Ludis Circenfibus, I. i. c. 10, 11.; the xviith Annotation on Mascou's History of the Germans; and Aleman, ad. c. vii,

tions

C H A P. tions which had agitated the circus, raged with redoubled fury in the hippodrome. Under the reign of Anastasius, this popular frenzy was inflamed by religious zeal; and the greens, who had treacherously concealed stones and daggers under baskets of fruit, massacred, at a solemn festival, three thousand of their blue adversaries 44. From the capital, this peftilence was diffused into the provinces and cities of the East, and the foortive distinction of two colours produced two ftrong and irreconcileable factions, which shook the foundations of a feeble government 45. The popular diffensions, founded on the most ferious interest, or holy pretence, have scarcely equalled the obstinacy of this wanton discord, which invaded the peace of families, divided friends and brothers, and tempted the female fex, though feldom feen in the circus, to espouse the inclinations of their lovers, or to contradict the wishes of their husbands. Every law, either human or divine, was trampled under foot, and as long as the party was fuccessful, its deluded followers appeared careless of private distress or public calamity. The licence, without the freedom, of democracy, was revived at Antioch and Constantinople, and the support of a faction be-

See Procopius, Perfic. l. i. c. 24. In describing the vices of the factions and of the government, the public, is not more favourable than the fecret, historian. Aleman. (p. 26.) has quoted a fine passage from Gregory Nazianzen, which proves the inveteracy of the evil.

came

⁴⁴ Marcellin. in Chron. p. 47. Instead of the vulgar word veneta, he uses the more exquisite terms of cærulea and cærealis. Boronius (A. D. 501, No. 4, 5, 6.) is satisfied that the blues were orthodox; but Tillemont is angry at the supposition, and will not allow any martyrs in a playhouse (Hist. des. Emp. tom. vi. p. 554.).

came necessary to every candidate for civil or CHAP. ecclefiaftical honours. A fecret attachment to the family or fect of Anastasius was imputed to the greens; the blues were zealously devoted to the cause of orthodoxy and Justinian 46, and their Justinian grateful patron protected, above five years, the favours the diforders of a faction, whose feasonable tumults blues. overawed the palace, the fenate, and the capitals of the Eaft. Infolent with royal favour, the blues affected to ftrike terror by a peculiar and Barbaric drefs, the long hair of the Huns, their close fleeves and ample garments, a lofty ftep, and a fonorous voice. In the day they concealed their two-edged poynards, but in the night they boldly affembled in arms, and in numerous bands, prepared for every act of violence and rapine. Their adversaries of the green faction, or even inoffensive citizens, were stripped and often murdered by these nocturnal robbers, and it became dangerous to wear any gold buttons or girdles, or to appear at a late hour in the streets of a peaceful capital. A daring spirit, rising with impunity, proceeded to violate the fafeguard of private houses; and fire was employed to facilitate the attack, or to conceal the crimes of thefe factious rioters. No place was fafe or facred from their depredations; to gratify either avarice or revenge, they profusely spilt the blood of the innocent; churches and altars were polluted by atrocious murders; and it was the boaft of the

affaffins.

⁴⁶ The partiality of Juftinian for the blues (Anecdot. c. 7.) is attested by Evagrius (Hist. Eccles. l. iv. c. 32.), John Malala (tom. ii. p. 138, 139.), especially for Antioch; and Theophanes (p. 142-).

C H A P. affaffins, that their dexterity could always inflicta mortal wound with a fingle stroke of their dagger. The diffolute youth of Constantinople adopted the blue livery of diforder; the laws were filent, and the bonds of fociety were relaxed; creditors were compelled to refign their obligations; judges to reverse their sentence; masters to enfranchise their slaves; fathers to fupply the extravagance of their children; noble matrons were profituted to the luft of their fervants; beautiful boys were torn from the arms of their parents; and wives, unless they preferred a voluntary death, were ravished in the presence of their husbands 47. The despair of the greens, who were perfecuted by their enemies, and deferted by the magistrate, assumed the privilege of defence, perhaps of retaliation: but those who furvived the combat were dragged to execution, and the unhappy fugitives, escaping to woods and caverns, preyed without mercy on the fociety from whence they were expelled. Those ministers of justice who had courage to punish the crimes, and to brave the refentment of the blues, became the victims of their indifcreet zeal; a præfect of Constantinople fled for refuge to the holy sepulchre, a count of the East was ignominiously whipped, and a governor of Cilicia was hanged, by the order of Theodora, on the tomb of two affaffins whom he had con-

demned

⁴⁷ A wife (fays Procopius), who was feized and almost ravished by a blue coat, threw herfelf into the Bosphorus. The bishops of the second Syria (Aleman. p. 26.) deplore a fimilar fuicide, the guilt or glory of . female chaftity, and name the heroine.

demned for the murder of his groom, and a CHAP. daring attack upon his own life 48. An afpiring candidate may be tempted to build his greatness on the public confusion, but it is the interest as well as duty of a fovereign to maintain the authority of the laws. The first edict of Justinian, which was often repeated, and fometimes executed, announced his firm resolution to support the innocent, and to chastise the guilty of every denomination and colour. Yet the balance of justice was still inclined in favour of the blue faction, by the fecret affection, the habits, and the fears of the Emperor; his equity, after an apparent ftruggle, fubmitted, without reluctance, to the implacable passions of Theodora, and the Empress never forgot, or forgave, the injuries of the comedian. At the accession of the younger Justin, the proclamation of equal and rigorous justice indirectly condemned the partiality of the former reign. "Ye blues, Justinian " is no more! ye greens, he is ftill alive "!"

A fedition, which almost laid Constantinople Sedition of in ashes, was excited by the mutual hatred and Constantimomentary reconciliation of the two factions. named In the fifth year of his reign, Justinian celebra- Nika, ted the festival of the ides of January: the January. games were inceffantly diffurbed by the cla-

48 The doubtful credit of Procopius (Anecdot. c. 17.) is supported by the less partial Evagrius, who confirms the fact, and specifies the names. The tragic fate of the præfect of Constantinople is related by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 139.).

49 See John Malala (tom. ii. p. 147.); yet he owns that Justinian was attached to the blues. The feeming difcord of the Emperor and Theodora, is perhaps viewed with two much jealoufy and refinement by Procopius (Anecdot. c. 10.). See Aleman. Præfat. p. 6.

C H A P. morous discontent of the greens; till the twenty-XL., fecond race, the Emperor maintained his filent gravity; at length, yielding to his impatience, he condescended to hold, in abrupt sentences, and by the voice of a cryer, the most fingular dialogue 50 that ever passed between a prince and his subjects. Their first complaints were respectful and modest; they accused the fubordinate ministers of oppression, and proclaimed their wishes for the long life and victory of the Emperor. "Be patient and attentive, ye " infolent railers!" exclaimed Justinian; " be " mute, ye Jews, Samaritans, and Manichæans!" The greens still attempted to awaken his compassion. "We are poor, we are innocent, we are " injured, we dare not pass through the streets:

" name and colour. Let us die, O Emperor! but let us die by your command, and for your fervice!" But the repetition of partial and paffionate invectives degraded, in their eyes, the majesty of the purple; they renounced allegiance to the prince who refused justice to his people; lamented that the father of Justinian had been born; and branded his son with the opprobrious names of an homicide, an ass, and a perjured tyrant. "Do you despife your lives?" cried

" a general perfecution is exercifed against our

50 This dialogue, which Theophanes has preferved, exhibits the popular language, as well as the manners, of Conftantinople in the vith century. Their Greek is mingled with many firange and barbarous words, for which Ducange cannot always find a meaning or etymology.

in

the indignant monarch: the blues rose with fury from their seats; their hostile clamours thundered in the hippodrome; and their adversaries, de-

ferting

ferting the unequal contest, spread terror and de- C H A P. spair through the streets of Constantinople. this dangerous moment, feven notorious affassins of both factions, who had been condemned by the præfect, were carried round the city, and afterwards transported to the place of execution in the fuburb of Pera. Four were immediately beheaded; a fifth was hanged: but when the fame punishment was inflicted on the remaining two, the rope broke, they fell alive to the ground, the populace applauded their escape, and the monks of St. Conon, iffuing from the neighbouring convent, conveyed them in a boat to the fanctuary of the church 52. As one of thefe criminals was of the blue, and the other of the green livery, the two factions were equally provoked by the cruelty of their oppressor, or the ingratitude of their patron; and a short truce was concluded till they had delivered their prisoners, and fatisfied their revenge. The palace of the præfect, who withflood the feditious torrent, was infantly burnt, his officers and guards were maffacred, the prifons were forced open, and freedom was restored to those who could only use it for the public destruction. military force, which had been dispatched to the aid of the civil migistrate, was fiercely encountered by an armed multitude, whose numbers and boldness continually increased; and the Heruli, the wildest Barbarians in the fervice of the empire, overturned the priefts and

⁵¹ See this church and monastery in Ducange, C. P. Christiana, L. iv. p. 182.

C H A P. their relics, which, from a pious motive, had been rashly interposed to separate the bloody conflict. The tumult was exasperated by this facrilege, the people fought with enthusiasm in the cause of God; the women, from the roofs and windows, showered stones on the heads of the foldiers; who darted firebrands against the houses; and the various flames, which had been kindled by the hands of citizens and ftrangers, fpread without controll over the face of the city. The conflagration involved the cathedral of St. Sophia, the baths of Zeuxippus, a part of the palace, from the first entrance to the altar of Mars, and the long portico from the palace to the forum of Constantine; a large hospital, with the fick patients, was confumed; many churches and flately edifices were deftroyed, and an immense treasure of gold and filver was either

The diftrefs of Justinian. As long as the factions were divided, the triumphant blues, and defponding greens, appeared to behold with the same indifference the disorders of the state. They agreed to censure the corrupt management of justice and the sinance; and the two responsible ministers, the artful

melted or loft. From fuch scenes of horror and distress, the wife and wealthy citizens escaped over the Bosphorus to the Asiatic side; and during sive days Constantinople was abandoned to the factions, whose watch-word, Nika, vanquish! has given a name to this memorable sedition 52.

Tri-

⁵² The hiftory of the Nika fedition is extracted from Marcellinus (in Chron.), Procopius (Perfic. 1. i. c. 26.), John Malala (tom. ii. p. 213—218.), Chron. Pafchal. (p. 336—340.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 154—158.), and Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 61—63.).

Tribonian, and the rapacious John of Cappa- C H A P. docia, were loudly arraigned as the authors of the public mifery. The peaceful murmurs of the people would have been difregarded: they were heard with respect when the city was in flames; the quæstor, and the præsect, were inflantly removed, and their offices were filled by two fenators of blameless integrity. After this popular concession, Justinian proceeded to the hippodrome to confess his own errors, and to accept the repentance of his grateful subjects; but they diffrusted his affurances, though folemnly pronounced in the prefence of the holy gospels; and the Emperor, alarmed by their diftruft, retreated with precipitation to the strong fortress of the palace. The obstinacy of the tumult was now imputed to a fecret and ambitious conspiracy, and a fuspicion was entertained, that the infurgents, more especially the green faction, had been fupplied with arms and money by Hypatius and Pompey, two patricians, who could neither forget with honour, nor remember with fafety, that they were the nephews of the Em-Capriciously trusted, difperor Anastasius. graced, and pardoned, by the jealous levity of the monarch, they had appeared as loyal fervants before the throne; and, during five days of the tumult, they were detained as important hoftages; till at length, the fears of Justinian prevailing over his prudence, he viewed the two brothers in the light of spies, perhaps of assassins, and sternly commanded them to depart from the palace. After a fruitless representation, that obe-63

CHAP. obedience might lead to involuntary treason, they retired to their houses, and in the morning of the fixth day. Hypatius was furrounded and feized by the people, who, regardless of his virtuous resistance, and the tears of his wife, transported their favourite to the forum of Constantine, and inftead of a diadem, placed a rich collar on his head. If the usurper, who afterwards pleaded the merit of his delay, had complied with the advice of his fenate, and urged the fury of the multitude, their first irresistible effort might have oppressed or expelled his trembling compe-The Byzantine palace enjoyed a free communication with the fea; veffels lay ready at the garden stairs; and a fecret resolution was already formed, to convey the Emperor with his family and treasures to a safe retreat, at some distance from the capital.

Firmnels of Theo-

Justinian was lost, if the prostitute whom he raifed from the theatre had not renounced the timidity, as well as the virtues, of her fex. In the midst of a council, where Belifarius was prefent, Theodora alone displayed the spirit of an hero; and fhe alone, without apprehending his future hatred, could fave the Emperor from the imminent danger, and his unworthy fears, " If "flight," faid the confort of Justinian, "were " the only means of fafety, yet I should disdain " to fly. Death is the condition of our birth; "but they who have reigned should never fur-" vive the lofs of dignity and dominion. " plore heaven, that I may never be feen, not a "day, without my diadem and purple; that I cc may 15

may no longer behold the light, when I cease CHAP. to be faluted with the name of Queen. If you " refolve, O Cæfar! to fly, you have treasures; " behold the fea, you have ships; but tremble " left the defire of life should expose you to " wretched exile and ignominious death. For "my own part, I adhere to the maxim of anti-" quity, that the throne is a glorious sepulchre." The firmness of a woman restored the courage to deliberate and act, and courage foon discovers the refources of the most desperate situation. It was an eafy and a decifive measure to revive the animofity of the factions; the blue were aftonished at their own guilt and folly, that a trifling injury should provoke them to conspire with their implacable enemies against a gracious and liberal benefactor; they again proclaimed The fedithe majesty of Justinian, and the greens, with tion is suptheir upftart emperor, were left alone in the hippodrome. The fidelity of the guards was doubtful; but the military force of Justinian confisted in three thousand veterans, who had been trained to valour and discipline in the Persian and Illyrian wars. Under the command of Belifarius and Mundus, they filently marched in two divifions from the palace, forced their obscure way through narrow passages, expiring slames, and falling edifices, and burft open at the same moment the two opposite gates of the hippodrome. In this narrow space, the disorderly and affrighted crowd was incapable of refifting on either fide a firm and regular attack; the blues fignalized the fury of their repentance; and it is computed, that above G 4

C H A P. above thirty thousand persons were slain in the merciless and promiscuous carnage of the day. Hypatius was dragged from his throne, and conducted with his brother Pompey to the feet of the Emperor: they implored his clemency; but their crime was manifest, their innocence uncertain, and Justinian had been too much terrified to forgive. The next morning the two nephews of Anastasius, with eighteen illustrious accomplices, of patrician or confular rank, were privately executed by the foldiers; their bodies were thrown into the fea, their palaces razed, and their fortunes confiscated. The hippodrome itself was condemned, during several years, to a mournful filence: with the restoration of the games, the fame diforders revived; and the blue and green factions continued to afflict the reign of Justinian, and to disturb the tranquillity of the Eastern empire 53.

Agriculture and manufactures of the Eastern empire.

III. That empire, after Rome was barbarous, still embraced the nations whom she had conquered beyond the Hadriatic, and as far as the frontiers of Æthiopia and Persia. Justinian reigned over fixty-four provinces, and nine hundred and thirty-five cities 54; his dominions were bleffed by nature with the advantages of foil, fituation, and climate: and the improvements of human art had been perpetually diffused along the

⁵³ Marcellinus fays in general terms, innumeris populis in circo trucidatis. Procopius numbers 30,000 victims: and the 35,000 of Theophanes are fwelled to 40,000 by the more recent Zonaras. Such is the ufual progrefs of exaggeration.

⁵⁴ Hierocles, a contemporary of Justinian, composed his Συνδεχμών (Itineraria, p. 631.), or review of the eaftern provinces and cities, before the year 535 (Wesseling. in Præfat. and Not. ad p. 623, &c.).

coast of the Mediterranean and the banks of the CHAP. Nile, from ancient Troy to the Egyptian Thebes. Abraham⁵⁵ had been relieved by the well-known plenty of Egypt; the fame country, a finall and populous tract, was still capable of exporting, each year, two hundred and fixty thousand quarters of wheat for the use of Constantinople 36; and the capital of Justinian was supplied with the manufactures of Sidon, fifteen centuries after they had been celebrated in the poems of Homer 57. The annual powers of vegetation, instead of being exhausted by two thousand harvefts, were renewed and invigorated by skilful hufbandry, rich manure, and feafonable repofe. The breed of domestic animals was infinitely multiplied. Plantations, buildings, and the inftruments of labour and luxury, which are more durable than the term of human life, were accumulated by the care of fuccessive generations. Tradition preserved, and experience simplified, the humble practice of the arts: fociety was enriched by the division of labour and the facility of exchange; and every Roman was lodged. clothed, and fublifted, by the industry of a thoufand hands. The invention of the loom and dif-

⁵⁵ See the Book of Genefis (xii. 10.), and the administration of Joseph. The annals of the Greeks and Hebrews agree in the early arts and plenty of Ægypt: but this antiquity supposes a long series of improvements: and Warburton, who is almost stifled by the Hebrew, calls aloud for the Samaritan chronology (Divine Legation, vol. iii p. 29, &c.).

⁵⁶ Eight millions of Roman modii, befides a contribution of 80,000 aurei for the expences of water-carriage, from which the subject was graciously excused. See the xiiith Edict of Justinian: the numbers are checked and verified by the agreement of the Greek and Latin texts.

⁵⁷ Homer's Iliad, vi. 289. These veils, πεπλοι παμποικίλοι, were the work of the Sidonian women. But this passage is more honomable to the manufactures than to the navigation of Phoenicia, from whence they had been imported to Troy in Phrygian bottoms.

CHAP. taff has been piously ascribed to the gods. every age, a variety of animal and vegetable productions, hair, skins, wool, flax, cotton, and at length filk, have been skilfully manufactured to hide or adorn the human body; they were stained . with an infusion of permanent colours; and the pencil was fuccefsfully employed to improve the labours of the loom. In the choice of those colours 58 which imitate the beauties of nature, the freedom of tafte and fashion was indulged; but the deep purple 59 which the Phænicians extracted from a shell-fish, was restrained to the sacred perfon and palace of the emperor; and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious fubjects, who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne the

The use of filk by the Romans.

I need not explain that filk 61 is originally four from the bowels of a caterpillar, and that it composes the golden tomb from whence a worm emerges

58 See in Ovid (de Arte Amandi, iii. 269, &c.) a poetical list of twelve colours borrowed from flowers, the elements, &c. But it is almost impossible to discriminate by words all the nice and various shades both of art and nature.

59 By the discovery of cochineal, &c. we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a ftrong fmell, and a dark cast as deep as bull's blood - obscuritas rubens (fays Cassiodorius, Var. 1, 2.) nigredo fanguinea. The president Goguet (Origine des Loix et des Arts, part ii. l. ii. c. 2. p. 184-215.) will amuse and satisfy the reader. I doubt whether his book, especially in England, is as well known as it deferves to be.

"Historical proofs of this jealoufy have been occasionally introduced, and many more might have been added: but the arbitrary acts of defpotism were justified by the sober and general declarations of law (Codex Theodofian. I. x. tit. 21. leg. 3. Codex Justinian. I. xi. tit. 8. leg. 5.). An inglorious permission, and necessary restriction, was applied to the mimæ, the female dancers (Cod. Theodos. l. xv. tit. 7. leg. 11.).

61 In the hiftory of infects (far more wonderful than Ovid's Metamorphofes) the filk-worm holds a confpicuous place. The bombyx of the

emerges in the form of a butterfly. Till the reign CHAP. of Justinian, the filk-worms who feed on the leaves, of the white mulberry-tree, were confined to China; those of the pine, the oak, and the ash, were common in the forests both of Asia and Europe; but as their education is more difficult, and their produce more uncertain, they were generally neglected, except in the little island of Ceos, near the coast of Attica. A thin gauze was procured from their webs, and this Cean manufacture, the invention of a woman, for female use, was long admired both in the East and at Rome. Whatever fuspicions may be raifed by the garments of the Medes and Affyrians, Virgil is the most ancient writer, who expressly mentions the foft wool which was combed from the trees of the Seres or Chinese 62; and this natural error, less marvellous than the truth, was flowly corrected by the knowledge of a valuable infect, the first artificer of the luxury of nations. rare and elegant luxury was cenfured in the reign of Tiberius, by the gravest of the Romans: and Pliny, in affected though forcible language, has condemned the thirst of gain, which explored the last confines of the earth, for the pernicious purpose of exposing to the public

isle of Ceos, as described by Pliny (Hist. Natur.xi. 26, 27. with the notes of the two learned Jesuits, Hardouin and Brotier), may be illustrated by a similar species in China (Memoires sur les Chinois, tom. ii. p. 575—598.); but our silk-worm, as well as the white mulberry-tree, were unknown to Theophrastus and Pliny.

o² Georgic. ii. 121. Serica quando venerint in usum planissime non scio: suspicor tamen in Julii Cæsaris ævo, nam ante non invenio, says Justus Lipsius (Excursus i. ad Tacit Annal. ii. 32.). See Dion Cassius (I. xliii. p. 358. edit. Reimar), and Pausanias (I. vi. p. 519.), the first who describes, however strangely, the Seric insect.

CHAP. eye naked draperies and transparent matrons 63. A dress which shewed the turn of the limbs. and colour of the skin, might gratify vanity, or provoke defire; the filks which had been closely woven in China, were fometimes unravelled by the Phœnician women, and the precious materials were multiplied by a loofer texture, and the intermixture of linen threads 64. Two hundred years after the age of Pliny, the use of pure or even of mixed filks was confined to the female fex, till the opulent citizens of Rome and the provinces were infenfibly familiarized with the example of Elagabalus, the first who, by this effeminate habit, had fullied the dignity of an emperor and a man. Aurelian complained, that a pound of filk was fold at Rome for twelve ounces of gold: but the fupply increased with the demand, and the price diminished with the fupply. If accident or monopoly fometimes raifed the value even above the standard of Aurelian, the manufactures of Tyre and Berytus were fometimes compelled, by the operation of the same causes, to content themselves with a ninth part of that extravagant rate 65. A law

> 63 Tam longinquo orbe petitur, ut in publico matrona transluceat ut denudet fæminas vestis (Plin. vi. 20. xi. 21.). Varro and Publius Syrus had already played on the Toga vetrea, ventus texilis, and nebula linea (Horat. Sermon. i. 2. 101. with the notes of Torrentius and Dacier).

> 64 On the texture, colours, names, and use of the filk, half filk and linen garments of antiquity, fee the profound, diffuse, and obscure refearches of the great Salmafius (in Hift. August. p. 127. 309, 310. 339. 341, 342. 344. 388-391. 395. 513.), who was ignorant of the most common trades of Dijon or Leyden.

> 62 Flavius Vopiscus in Aurelian. c. 45. in Hist. August. p. 224. See Salmafius ad Hift. Aug. p. 392. and Plinian. Exercitat. in Solinum, p. 694, 695. The Anecdotes of Procopius (c. 25.) state a partial and

imperfect rate of the price of filk in the time of Justinian.

was thought necessary to discriminate the dress C H A P. of comedians from that of fenators; and of the filk exported from its native country, the far greater part was confumed by the fubjects of Justinian. They were still more intimately acquainted with a shell-fish of the Mediterranean, furnamed the filk-worm of the fea; the fine wool or hair by which the mother-of-pearl affixes itself to the rock, is now manufactured for curiofity rather than use; and a robe obtained from the same singular materials, was the gift of the Roman Emperor to the fatraps of Armenia.

A valuable merchandize of finall bulk is ca- Importapable of defraying the expence of land carriage; China by and the caravans traversed the whole latitude of land and Afia in two hundred and forty-three days from the Chinese ocean to the sea-coast of Syria. Silk was immediately delivered to the Romans by the Persian merchants⁶⁷, who frequented the fairs of Armenia and Nisibis: but this trade, which in the intervals of truce was oppressed by avarice and jealoufy, was totally interrupted by the long wars of the rival monarchies. The great king might proudly number Sogdiana, and even Serica, among the provinces of his empire; but his real dominion was bounded by the Oxus, and his ufeful intercourse with the Sogdoites, beyond the

66 Procopius de Edif. l. iii. c. I. These pinnes de mer are found near Smyrna, Sicily, Corfica, and Minorca; and a pair of gloves of their filk was prefented to Pope Benedict XIV.

⁶⁷ Procopius Perfic. l.i. c. 20. l.ii. c. 25. Gothic. l.iv. c. 17. Menander in Excerpt. Legat. p. 107. Of the Parthian or Persian empire, Isidore of Charax (in Stathmis Parthicis, p. 7, 8. in Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. ii.) has marked the roads, and Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xxiii. c. 6. p. 400.) has enumerated the provinces.

CHAP. river, depended on the pleasure of their conquerors, the white Huns, and the Turks, who fuccessively reigned over that industrious people. Yet the most savage dominion has not extirpated the feeds of agriculture and commerce, in a region which is celebrated as one of the four gardens of Asia; the cities of Samarcand and Bochara are advantageously feated for the exchange . of its various productions; and their merchants purchased from the Chinese 68 the raw or manufactured filk which they transported into Persia for the use of the Roman empire. In the vain capital of China, the Sogdian caravans were entertained as the suppliant embassies of tributary kingdoms, and if they returned in fafety, the bold adventure was rewarded with exorbitant gain. But the difficult and perilous march from Samarcand to the first town of Shensi, could not be performed in less than fixty, eighty, or one hundred days: as foon as they had paffed the Jazartes, they entered the defert; and the wandering hords, unless they are restrained by armies and garrifons, have always confidered the citizen and the traveller as the objects of lawful rapine. To escape the Tartar robbers, and the tyrants of Persia, the filk caravans explored a more

fouthern

⁶⁸ The blind admiration of the Jefuits confounds the different periods of the Chinese history. They are more critically distinguished by M. de Guignes (Hift. des Huns, tom. i. part i. in the Tables, part ii. in the Geography. Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxii. xxxvi. xlii. xliii.), who discovers the gradual progress of the truth of the annals and the extent of the monarchy, till the Christian æra. He has fearched, with a curious eye, the connections of the Chinese with the nations of the West: but these connections are slight, casual, and obscure; nor did the Romans entertain a suspicion that the Seres or Sinæ possessed an empire not inferior to their own.

fouthern road: they traversed the mountains of CHAP. Thibet, descended the streams of the Ganges or the Indus, and patiently expected, in the ports of Guzerat and Malabar, the annual fleets of the West 69. But the dangers of the desert were found less intolerable than toil, hunger, and the loss of time; the attempt was feldom renewed, and the only European who has paffed that unfrequented way, applauds his own diligence, that in nine months after his departure from Pekin, he reached the mouth of the In-The ocean, however, was open to the free communication of mankind. From the great river to the tropic of Cancer, the provinces of China were fubdued and civilized by the emperors of the North; they were filled about the time of the Christian æra with cities and men, mulberry-trees and their precious inhabitants; and if the Chinese, with the knowledge of the compais, had possessed the genius of the Greeks or Phoenicians, they might have fpread their discoveries over the fouthern hemisphere. I am not qualified to examine, and I am not disposed to believe, their distant voyages to the Persian gulf, or the Cape of Good Hope: but their ancestors might equal the labours and fuccess of the present race, and the sphere of their navigation might extend from the ifles of Japan to the streights of Malacca, the pillars, if

⁶) The roads from China to Persia and Hindostan may be invessing gated in the relations of Hackluyt and Thevenot (the ambassadors of Sharokh, Anthony Jenkinson, the Pere Greuber, &c. See likewise Hanway's Travels, vol. i. p. 345—357.). A communication through Thibet has been lately explored by the English sovereigns of Bengal.

XL.

CHAP. we may apply that name, of an Oriental Hercules 7°. Without losing fight of land, they might fail along the coast to the extreme promontory of Achin, which is annually vifited by ten or twelve ships laden with the productions, the manufactures, and even the artificers, of China; the island of Sumatra and the opposite peninfula, are faintly delineated 71 as the regions of gold and filver; and the trading cities named in the geography of Ptolemy, may indicate, that this wealth was not folely derived from the mines. The direct interval between Sumatra and Ceylon is about three hundred leagues; the Chinese and Indian navigators were conducted by the flight of birds and periodical winds, and the ocean might be securely traversed in squarebuilt ships, which, instead of iron, were sewed together with the strong thread of the cocoanut. Ceylon, Serendib, or Taprobana, was divided between two hostile princes; one of whom poffesfed the mountains, the elephants, and the luminous carbuncle, and the other enjoyed the more folid riches of domestic industry, foreign

7º For the Chinese navigation to Malacca and Achin, perhaps to Ceylon, See Renaudot on the two Mahometan Travellers, p. 8-11. 13-17. 141-157.), Dampier (vol. ii. p. 136.), the Hift. Philosophique des deux Indes (tom. i. p. 98.), and the Hift. Generales des Voyages (tom. vi. p. 201.).

The knowledge, or rather ignorance, of Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Arrian, Marcian, &c. of the countries eastward of Cape Comorin, is finely illustrated by d'Anville (Antiquité Geographique de l'Inde, especially p. 161-198.). Our geography of India is improved by commerce and conquest; and has been illustrated by the excellent maps and memoirs of Major Rennel. If he extends the iphere of his inquiries with the same critical knowledge and sagacity, he will succeed, and may furpals, the first of modern geographers.

trade,

trade, and the capacious harbour of Tringue- CHAP. male, which received and dismissed the fleets of the East and West. In this hospitable isle, at an equal distance (as it was computed) from their respective countries, the filk merchants of China, who had collected in their voyages aloes, cloves, nutmeg, and fantal wood, maintained a free and beneficial commerce with the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf. The subjects of the great king exalted, without a rival, his power and magnificence: and the Roman, who confounded their vanity by comparing his paltry coin with a gold medal of the Emperor Anastasius, had failed to Ceylon in an Æthiopian ship, as a simple pasfenger 72.

As filk became of indispensable use, the Em- Introducperor Justinian saw, with concern, that the Per- tion of filk-worms fians had occupied by land and fea the monopoly into of this important supply, and that the wealth of Greece. his fubjects was continually drained by a nation of enemies and idolaters. An active government would have reftored the trade of Egypt and the navigation of the Red Sea, which had decayed with the prosperity of the empire; and the Roman veffels might have failed, for the purchase of filk, to the ports of Ceylon, of Malacca, or even of China. Justinian embraced a more humble expedient, and folicited the aid of his Christian

72 The Taprobane of Pliny (vi. 24.), Solinus (c. 53.), and Salmas. Plinianæ Exercitat. (p. 781, 782.), and most of the ancients, who often confound the islands of Ceylon and Sumatra, is more clearly described by Cosmas Indicopleustes; yet even the Christian topographer has exaggerated its dimensions. His information on the Indian and Chinese trade is rare and curious (l.ii. p. 138.l. xi. p. 337, 338. edit. Montfaucon). 08

CHAP. allies, the Æthiopians of Abyssinia, who had re-_, cently acquired the arts of navigation, the spirit of trade, and the fea-port of Adulis 73, still decorated with the trophies of a Grecian conqueror. Along the African coast, they penetrated to the equator in fearch of gold, emeralds, and aromatics; but they wifely declined an unequal competition in which they must be always prevented by the vicinity of the Persians to the markets of India; and the Emperor submitted to the disappointment till his wishes were gratified by an unexpected event. The gospel had been preached to the Indians: a bishop already governed the Christians of St. Thomas on the pepper-coast of Malabar; a church was planted in Ceylon, and the missionaries pursued the footsteps of commerce to the extremities of Asia74. Two Persian monks had long refided in China, perhaps in the royal city of Nankin, the feat of a monarch addicted to foreign superstitions, and who actually received an embassy from the isle of Ceylon. Amidst their pious occupations, they viewed with a curious eye the common dress of the Chinese, the manufactures of filk, and the myriads of filk-worms, whose education (either on trees or in houses) had once been considered as

⁷³ See Procopius, Persic. (l. ii. c. 20.). Cosmas affords some interest. ing knowledge of the port and inscription of Adulis (Topograph. Christ. I. ii. p. 138. 140—143.), and of the trade of the Axumites along the African coasts of Barbaria or Zingi (p. 138, 139.), and as far as Taprobane (l. xi. p. 339.).

⁷ See the Christian missions in India, in Cosmas (l. iii. p. 178, 179. I. xi. p. 337.), and confult Affeman. Bibliot. Orient. (tom. iv. p. 413-548).

the labour of queens 75. They foon discovered CHAP. that it was impracticable to transport the shortlived infect, but that in the eggs a numerous progeny might be preferved and multiplied in a diftant climate. Religion or interest had more power over the Persian monks than the love of their country; after a long journey, they arrived at Constantinople, imparted their project to the Emperor, and were liberally encouraged by the gifts and promifes of Justinian. To the historians of that prince, a campaign at the foot of mount Caucafus has feemed more deferving of a minute relation than the labours of these misfionaries of commerce, who again entered China, deceived a jealous people by concealing the eggs of the filk-worm in a hollow cane, and returned in triumph with the spoils of the East. Under their direction, the eggs were hatched at the proper feafon by the artificial heat of dung; the worms were fed with mulberry leaves; they lived and laboured in a foreign climate: a fufficient number of butterflies was faved to propagate the race, and trees were planted to supply the nourishment of the rising generations. Experience and reflection corrected the errors of a new attempt, and the Sogdoite ambaffadors acknowledged, in the fucceeding reign, that the Romans were not inferior to the natives of China in the education of the infects, and the manu-

⁷⁵ The invention, manufacture, and general use of filk in China, may be seen in Duhalde (Description Generale de la Chine, tom. ii. p. 165. 205—223-). The province of Chekian is the most renowned both for quantity and quality.

CHAP, factures of filk 76, in which both China and Conftantinople have been furpaffed by the industry of modern Europe. I am not infenfible of the benefits of elegant luxury; yet I reflect with some pain, that if the importers of filk had introduced the art of printing, already practifed by the Chinese, the comedies of Menander and the entire decads of Livy would have been perpetuated in the editions of the fixth century. A larger view of the globe might at least have promoted the improvement of speculative science, but the Christian geography was forcibly extracted from texts of Scripture, and the study of nature was the fureft fymptom of an unbelieving mind. The orthodox faith confined the habitable world to one temperate zone, and represented the earth as an oblong furface, four hundred days journey in length, two hundred in breadth, encompassed by the ocean, and covered by the folid cryftal of the firmament 77.

> 76 Procopius, I. viii. Gothic. iv. c. 17. Theophanes, Byzant. apud Phot. Cod. lxxxiv. p. 38. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 69. (tom. ii. p. 602.) affigns to the year 552 this memorable importation. Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 107.) mentions the admiration of the Sogdoites; and Theophylact Simocatta (l. vii. c. 9.) darkly represents the two rival kingdoms in (China) the country of filk.

> 77 Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, or the Indian navigator, performed his voyage about the year 522, and composed at Alexandria, between 535 and 547, Christian Topography (Montfaucon, Præfat. c. i.), in which he refutes the impious opinion, that the earth is a globe; and Photius had read this work (Cod. xxxvi. p. 9, 10.), which displays the prejudices of a monk, with the knowledge of a merchant; the most valuable part has been given in French, and in Greek by Melchifedec Thevenot (Relations Curieuses, part i.), and the whole is fince published in a splendid edition by the Pere Monfaucon (Nova Collectio Patrum, Paris, 1707, 2 vols. in fol. tom. ii. p. 113-346.). But the editor, a theologian, might blush at not discovering the Nestorian herefy of Cosmas, which has been detected by la Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 40-56.).

IV. The

IV. The subjects of Justinian were diffatisfied C H A P. with the times, and with the government. rope was over-run by the barbarians, and Asia State of by the monks: the poverty of the West discouraged the trade and manufactures of the East: the produce of labour was confumed by the unprofitable fervants of the church, the state, and the army; and a rapid decrease was felt in the fixed and circulating capitals which constitute the national wealth. The public diffress had been alleviated by the economy of Anastasius, and that prudent Emperor accumulated an immense treafure while he delivered his people from the most odious or oppressive taxes. Their gratitude univerfally applauded the abolition of the gold of affliction, a personal tribute on the industry of the poor 78, but more intolerable, as it should feem. in the form than in the fubstance, since the flourifhing city of Edeffa paid only one hundred and forty pounds of gold, which was collected in four vears from ten thousand artificers 79. Yet such was the parfimony which supported this liberal difposition, that, in a reign of twenty-seven years. Anastasius saved, from his annual revenue, the

⁷⁸ Evagrius (1. iii. c. 39, 40.) is minute and grateful, but angry with Zofimus for calumniating the great Conftantine. In collecting all the bonds and records of the tax, the humanity of Anastasius was diligent and artful; fathers were sometimes compelled to prostitute their daughters (Zosim. Hift. l. ii. c. 38. p. 165, 166. Lipsiæ, 1784). Timotheus of Gaza chose such an event for the subject of a tragedy (Suidas, tom. iii. p. 475.), which contributed to the abolition of the tax (Cedrenus, p. 25.).

—an happy instance (if it be true) of the use of the theatre.

79 See Josus Stylites, in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman (tom. i. p. 268.). This capitation tax is slightly mentioned in the

Chronicle of Edeffa.

Avarice and profusion of Justinian.

CHAP. enormous fum of thirteen million sterling, or three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of gold 80. His example was neglected, and his treasure was abused, by the nephew of Justin. The riches of Justinian were speedily exhausted by alms and buildings, by ambitious wars, and ignominious treaties. His revenues were found inadequate to his expences. Every art was tried to extort from the people the gold and filver which he fcattered with a lavish hand from Persia to Frances:; his reign was marked by the viciffitudes, or rather by the combat, of rapaciousness and avarice, of fplendour and poverty: he lived with the reputation of hidden treasures 82, and bequeathed to his fuccesfor the payment of his debts83. Such a character has been justly accufed by the voice of the people and of posterity: but public discontent is credulous; private malice is bold; and a lover of truth will peruse with a fuspicious eye the instructive anecdotes of Procopius. The fecret historian represents only the vices of Justinian, and those vices are darkened by

> 8. Procopius Anecdot. c. 19.) fixes this fum from the report of the treasurers themselves. Tiberius had vicies ter millies; but far different was his empire from that of Anastasius.

> 81 Evagrius (l. iv. c. 30.), in the next generation, was moderate and well informed; and Zonaras (l. xiv. c. 61.), in the xiith century, had read with care, and thought without prejudice: yet their colours are almost as black as those of the Anecdotes.

82 Procopius (Anecdot. c. 30.) relates the idle conjectures of the times. The death of Justinian, says the fecret historian, will expose his wealth or poverty.

83 See Corippus de Laudibus Justini Aug. 1. ii. 260, &c. 384, &c.

66 Plurima funt vivo nimium neglecta parenti, "Unde tot exhaustus contraxit debita fiscus."

Centenaries of gold were brought by strong arms into the hippodrome, 66 Debita genitoris perfolvit, cauta recepit."

his

his malevolent pencil. Ambiguous actions are im. C. H A P. puted to the worst motives: error is confounded. with guilt, accident with defign, and laws with abuses: the partial injustice of a moment is dextroufly applied as the general maxim of a reign of thirty-two years: the Emperor alone is made refponfible for the faults of his officers, the diforders of the times, and the corruption of his subjects; and even the calamities of nature, plagues, earthquakes, and inundations, are imputed to the prince of the dæmons, who had mischievously affumed the form of Juftinian 84.

After this precaution, I shall briefly relate the anecdotes of avarice and rapine, under the following heads: I. Justinian was so profuse that he Pernicious could not be liberal. The civil and military offi. favings. cers, when they were admitted into the fervice of the palace, obtained an humble rank and a moderate flipend; they afcended by feniority to a flation of affluence and repose; the annual penfions, of which the most honourable class was abolished by Justinian, amounted to four hundred thousand pounds; and this domestic occonomy was deplored by the venal or indigent courtiers as the last outrage on the majesty of the The posts, the falaries of physicians, empire. and the nocturnal illuminations, were objects of more general concern; and the cities might juftly complain, that he usurped the municipal revenues which had been appropriated to these useful institutions. Even the foldiers were injured; and fuch

⁸⁴ The Anecdotes (c. 11-14. 18. 20-30.) supply many facts and more complaints.

Remittances.

CHAP. was the decay of military spirit, that they were injured with impunity. The Emperor refused, at the return of each fifth year, the customary donative of five pieces of gold, reduced his veterans to beg their bread, and fuffered unpaid armies to melt away in the wars of Italy and Perfia. II. The humanity of his predecessors had always remitted, in some auspicious circumstance of their reign, the arrears of the public tribute; and they dextrously assumed the merit of resigning those claims which it was impracticable to enforce. "Justinian, in the space of thirty-two years, has " never granted a fimilar indulgence; and many " of his subjects have renounced the possession of " those lands whose value is insufficient to satisfy " the demands of the treasury. To the cities which had fuffered by hostile inroads, Anasta-" fius promifed a general exemption of feven years: the provinces of Justinian have been " ravaged by the Perfians and Arabs, the Huns " and Sclavonians; but his vain and ridiculous " dispensation of a single year has been confined " to those places which were actually taken by " the enemy." Such is the language of the fecret historian, who expressly denies that any indulgence was granted to Palestine after the revolt of the Samaritans; a false and odious charge, confuted by the authentic record, which attefts a relief of thirteen centenaries of gold (fifty-two thousand pounds) obtained for that desolate province by the intercession of St. Sabas 85. III. Procopius

⁸⁵ One to Scythopolis, capital of the fecond Palestine, and twelve for the rest of the province. Aleman. (p. 59.) honeftly produces this

copius has not condescended to explain the CHAP. fystem of taxation, which fell like a hail-storm upon the land, like a devouring peftilence on its inhabitants; but we should become the accomplices of his malignity, if we imputed to Juftinian alone the ancient though rigorous principle, that a whole diffrict should be condemned to fustain the partial loss of the persons or property of individuals. The Anona, or supply of Taxes, corn for the use of the army and capital, was a grievous and arbitrary exaction, which exceeded, perhaps in a tenfold proportion, the ability of the farmer; and his diffress was aggravated by the partial injuffice of weights and measures, and the expence and labour of diftant carriage. In a time of fcarcity, an extraordinary requifition was made to the adjacent provinces of Thrace. Bithynia, and Phrygia; but the proprietors, after a wearisome journey and a perilous navigation, received fo inadequate a compensation, that they would have chosen the alternative of delivering both the corn and price at the doors of their granaries. These precautions might indicate a tender solicitude for the welfare of the capital; yet Constantinople did not escape the rapacious despotism of Justinian. Till his reign, the streights of the Bosphorus and Hellespont were open to the freedom of trade, and nothing was prohibited except the exportation of arms for the service of the barbarians. At each of these gates of the city,

factfrom a MS. life of St. Sabas, by his difciple Cyril, in the Vatican library, and fince published by Cotelerius.

a prætor

CHAP. a prætor was stationed, the minister of Imperial avarice; heavy customs were imposed on the veffels and their merchandize; the oppression was retaliated on the helpless confumer: the poorwere afflicted by the artificial scarcity, and exorbitant price of the market; and a people, accustomed to depend on the liberality of their prince, might fometimes complain of the deficiency of water and bread 86. The aerial tribute without a name, a law, or a definite object, was an annual gift of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, which the Emperor accepted from his Prætorian præfect; and the means of payment were abandoned to the discretion of that powerful magistrate. IV. Even fuch a tax was less intolerable than the privilege of monopolies, which checked the fair competition of industry, and for the sake of a small and dishonest gain, imposed an arbitrary burthen on the wants and luxury of the fubject. "foon (I transcribe the anecdotes) as the ex-" clufive fale of filk was usurped by the Imperial "treasurer, a whole people, the manufacturers of "Tyre and Berytus, was reduced to extreme " mifery, and either perished with hunger, or " fled to the hostile dominions of Persia." province might fuffer by the decay of its manufactures, but in this example of filk, Procopius has partially overlooked the inestimable and lafting benefit which the empire received from the curiofity of Justinian. His addition of one-

Monopolies.

feventh

⁸⁶ John Malala (tom. ii. p. 232.) mentions the want of bread, and Zonaras (l. xiv. p. 63.) the leaden pipes, which Justinian, or his fervants, stole from the aqueducts.

feventh to the ordinary price of copper-money CHAP. may be interpreted with the fame candour; and the alteration, which might be wife, appears to have been innocent; fince he neither allayed the purity, nor enhanced the value, of the gold coin 87, the legal measure of public and private payments. V. The ample jurifdiction required by Venality. the farmers of the revenue to accomplish their engagements, might be placed in an odious light, as if they had purchased from the Emperor the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens. And a more direct fale of honours and offices was tranfacted in the palace, with the permission, or at least with the connivance, of Justinian and Theodora. The claims of merit, even those of favour, were difregarded, and it was almost reasonable to expect, that the bold adventurer, who had undertaken the trade of a magistrate, should find a rich compensation for infamy, labour, danger, the debts which he had contracted, and the heavy interest which he paid. A sense of the diffrace and mischief of this venal practice, at length awakened the flumbering virtue of Juftinian; and he attempted, by the fanction of oaths ss and penalties, to guard the integrity of

80 For an aureus, one fixth of an ounce of gold, instead of 210, he gave no more than 180 folles, or ounces of copper. A disproportion of the mint, below the market price, must have soon produced a scarcity of finall money. In England, twelve pence in copper would fell for no more than feven pence (Smith's Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 49.). For Justinian's gold coin, see Evagrius (l. iv. c. 30.).

31 The oath is conceived in the most formidable words (Novell. viii. tit. 3.). The defaulters imprecate on themselves, quicquid habent teforum armamentaria cœli: the part of Judas, the leprofy of Giezi, the

premor of Cain, &c. befides all temporal pains.

Teffaments.

CHAP. his government: but at the end of a year of perjury, his rigorous edict was suspended, and corruption licentiously abused her triumph over the impotence of the laws. VI. The testament of Eulalius, count of the domestics, declared the Emperor his fole heir, on condition, however. that he should discharge his debts and legacies. allow to his three daughters a decent maintenance, and bestow each of them in marriage. with a portion of ten pounds of gold. But the folendid fortune of Eulalius had been confumed by fire; and the inventory of his goods did not exceed the trifling fum of five hundred and fixtyfour pieces of gold. A fimilar inftance, in Grecian hiftory, admonished the Emperor of the honourable part prescribed for his imitation. He checked the felfish murmurs of the treasurv. applauded the confidence of his friend, difcharged the legacies and debts, educated the three virgins under the eye of the Empress Theodora, and doubled the marriage portion which had fatisfied the tenderness of their father so. The humanity of a prince (for princes cannot be generous) is entitled to some praise; yet even in this act of virtue we may discover the inveterate custom of supplanting the legal or natural heirs, which Procopius imputes to the reign of Justinian. His charge is supported by eminent names and fcandalous examples; neither widows nor orphans were spared; and the art of soli-

⁸⁹ A fimilar or more generous act of friendship is related by Lucian of Eudamidas of Corinth (in Toxare, c. 22, 23. tom. ii. p. 530.), and the flory has produced an ingenious, though feeble, comedy of Fontenelle: citing.

citing, or extorting, or supposing testaments, was CHAP. beneficially practifed by the agents of the palace. This base and mischievous tyranny invades the fecurity of private life; and the monarch who has indulged an appetite for gain will foon be tempted to anticipate the moment of fuccession, to interpret wealth as an evidence of guilt, and to proceed, from the claim of inheritance, to the power of confifcation. VII. Among the forms of rapine, a philosopher may be permitted to name the conversion of Pagan or heretical riches to the use of the faithful; but in the time of Justinian this holy plunder was condemned by the fecturies alone, who became the victims of his orthodox avarice ...

Dishonour might be ultimately reflected on The minifthe character of Justinian; but much of the ters of Justinian. guilt, and ftill more of the profit, was intercepted by the ministers, who were feldom promoted for their virtues, and not always felected for their talents of Tribonian the quæstor will hereafter be weighed in the reformation of the Roman law; but the œconomy of the East was fubordinate to the Prætorian præfect, and Procopius has justified his anecdotes by the portrait which he exposes in his public history, of the notorious vices of John of Cappadocia 92.

90 John Malala, tom. ii. p. 101, 102, 103.

92 See the history and character of John of Cappadocia in Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 24, 25. l. ii. c. 30. Vandal l. i. c. 43. Anecdot. c. 2.

His

or One of these, Anatolius, perished in an earthquake —doubtless a judgment! The complaints and clamours of the people in Agathias (l. v. p. 146, 147.) are almost an echo of the anecdote. The aliena pecunia reddenda of Corippus (l. ii. 381, &c.) is not very honourable to Justinian's memory.

XL. John of Cappadocia.

CHAP. His knowledge was not borrowed from the fchools 93, and his ftyle was fcarcely legible; but he excelled in the powers of native genius, to fuggest the wifest counsels, and to find expedients in the most desperate situations. corruption of his heart was equal to the vigour of his understanding. Although he was sufpected of magic and Pagan superstition, he appeared infenfible to the fear of God or the reproaches of man; and his aspiring fortune was raifed on the death of thousands, the poverty of millions, the ruin of cities, and the defolation of provinces. From the dawn of light to the moment of dinner, he affiduously laboured to enrich his mafter and himfelf at the expence of the Roman world; the remainder of the day was fpent in fenfual and obscene pleasures, and the filent hours of the night were interrupted by the perpetual dread of the justice of an affassin. His abilities, perhaps his vices, recommended him to the lafting friendship of Justinian: the Emperor yielded with reluctance to the fury of the people; his victory was displayed by the immediate refloration of their enemy; and they felt above ten years, under his oppressive administration, that he was stimulated by revenge, rather than instructed by misfortune. Their murmurs served only to fortify the resolution of Justinian; but the præfect, in the infolence of favour, provoked the refentment of Theodora, difdained a power

^{17. 22.).} The agreement of the history and anecdotes is a mortal wound to the reputation of the præfect.

⁹³ Ου γαρ αλλο εδέν ες γεαμματις ες Φοιτων εμαθέν οτι μη γραμματα, και ταυτα κακα κακως γεαφαι—a forcible expression.

before which every knee was bent, and attempted C H A P. to fow the feeds of discord between the Emperor and his beloved confort. Even Theodora herfelf was conftrained to diffemble, to wait a favourable moment, and by an artful conspiracy to render John of Cappadocia the accomplice of his own destruction. At a time when Belisarius, unless he had been a hero, must have shewn himfelf a rebel, his wife Antonina, who enjoyed the fecret confidence of the Empress, communicated his feigned discontent to Euphemia, the daughter of the præfect; the credulous virgin imparted to her father the dangerous project, and John, who might have known the value of oaths and promifes was tempted to accept a nocturnal, and almost treasonable, interview with the wife of Belifarius. An ambufcade of guards and eunuchs had been posted by the command of Theodora; they rushed with drawn swords to seize or punish the guilty minister: he was faved by the fidelity of his attendants; but instead of appealing to a gracious fovereign, who had privately warned him of his danger, he pufillanimously fled to the fanctuary of the church. The favourite of Juftinian was facrificed to conjugal tenderness or domestic tranquillity; the conversion of a præfect into a priest extinguished his ambitious hopes, but the friendship of the Emperor alleviated his difgrace, and he retained in the mild exile of Cyzicus an ample portion of his riches. Such imperfect revenge could not fatisfy the unrelenting hatred of Theodora; the murder of his old enemy, the bishop of Cyzicus, afforded a decent

CHAP, a decent pretence; and John of Cappadocia, whose actions had deserved a thousand deaths; was at last condemned for a crime of which he was innocent. A great minister, who had been invested with the honours of conful and patrician, was ignominiously scourged like the vilest of malefactors; a tattered cloak was the fole remnant of his fortunes; he was transported in a bark to the place of his banishment at Antinopolis in Upper Egypt, and the præfect of the East begged his bread through the cities which had trembled at his name. During an exile of seven years, his life was protracted and threatened by the ingenious cruelty of Theodora; and when her death permitted the Emperor to recal a fervant whom he had abandoned with regret, the ambition of John of Cappadocia was reduced to the humble duties of the facerdotal profession. His fuccessors convinced the subjects of Justinian, that the arts of oppression might still be improved by experience and induftry; the frauds of a Syrian banker were introduced into the administration of the finances: and the example of the præfect was diligently copied by the quæstor, the public and private treafurer, the governors of provinces, and the principal magistrates of the Eastern empire 94.

⁹⁺ The chronology of Procopius is loofe and obscure; but with the aid of Pagi, I can discern that John was appointed Prætorian præfect of the East in the year 530; that he was removed in January 532restored before June 533—banished in 541—and recalled between June 548 and April 1, 549. Aleman. (p. 96, 97.) gives the lift of his ten fuccessors - a rapid series in a part of a single reign.

V. The edifices of Justinian were cemented CHAP. with the blood and treasure of his people; but ___XL. those stately structures appeared to announce the His edifiprosperity of the empire, and actually displayed ces and the skill of their architects. Both the theory and practice of the arts which depend on mathematical science and mechanical power were cultivated under the patronage of the emperors; the fame of Archimedes was rivalled by Proclus and Anthemius; and if their miracles had been related by intelligent spectators, they might now enlarge the speculations, instead of exciting the diftrust, of philosophers. A tradition has prevailed, that the Roman fleet was reduced to ashes in the port of Syracuse by the burning-glasses of Archimedes95; and it is afferted that a fimilar expedient was employed by Proclus to destroy the Gothic veffels in the harbour of Constantinople, and to protect his benefactor Anastasius against the bold enterprife of Vitalian 96. A machine was fixed on the walls of the city, confifting of an hexagon mirror of polished brass, with many finaller and moveable polygons to receive and reflect the rays of the meridian fun; and a confuming flame was darted, to the diffance, per-

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haps,

⁹⁵ This conflagration is hinted by Lucian (in Hippia, c.2.) and Galen (l. iii. de temperamentis, tom. i. p. 81. edit. Basil) in the fecond century. A thousand years afterwards, it is positively affirmed by Zonaras (l. ix. p. 424.) on the faith of Dion Cassius, by Tzetzes (Chiliad ii. 119, &c.), Eustathius (ad Iliad. E. p. 338.), and the scholiast of Lucian. See Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. I. iii. c. 22. tom. ii. p. 551, 522.), to whom I am more or less indebted for several of these quotations.

⁹⁶ Zonaras (1. xiv. p. 55.) affirms the fact, without quoting any evadence.

CHAP. haps, of two hundred feet 97. The truth of these XL. two extraordinary facts is invalidated by the filence of the most authentic historians; and the use of burning-glasses was never adopted in the attack or defence of places 98. Yet the admirable experiments of a French philosophers have demonstrated the possibility of such a mirror; and, fince it is possible, I am more disposed to attribute the art to the greatest mathematicians of antiquity, than to give the merit of the fiction to the idle fancy of a monk or a fophist. According to another ftory, Proclus applied fulphur to the destruction of the Gothic sleet 100; in a modern imagination, the name of fulphur is inflantly connected with the fuspicion of gun-powder, and that fuspicion is propagated by the secret arts of his disciple Anthemius 101. A citizen of Tralles in Afia had five fons, who were all diffinguished

⁹⁷ Tzetzes describes the artifice of these burning-glasses, which he had read, perhaps with no learned eyes, in a mathematical treatise of Ahthemius. That treatise, περι παραδοξων μηχαμηματων, has been lately published, translated, and illustrated, by M. Dupuys, a scholar and a mathematician (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xlii. p. 392—451.).

In the fiege of Syracuse, by the filence of Polybius, Plutarch, Livy; in the siege of Constantinople, by that of Marcellinus and all

the contemporaries of the vith century.

⁹⁹ Without any previous knowledge of Tzetzes or Anthemius, the immortal Buffon imagined and executed a fet of burning glaffes, with which he could inflame planks at the diffance of 200 feet (Supplement a l'Hift. Naturelle, tom. i. p. 389 – 483. quarto edition). What miracles would not his genius have performed for the public fervice, with royal expence, and in the ftrong fun of Conflantinople or Syracufe?

100 John Malala (tom. ii. p. 120-124.) relates the fact: but he feems

to confound the names or persons of Proclus and Marinus.

Agathias, l. v. p. 149—152. The merit of Anthemius as an architect is loudly praifed by Procopius (de Edif, l. i. c. 1.) and Paulus Silentiarius (part i. 134, &c.).

in their respective professions by merit and suc- CHAP. cefs. Olympius excelled in the knowledge and practice of the Roman jurisprudence. corus and Alexander became learned physicians: but the skill of the former was exercised for the benefit of his fellow citizens, while his more ambitious brothers acquired wealth and reputation at Rome. The fame of Metrodorus the grammarian, and of Anthemius the mathematician and architect, reached the ears of the Emperor Justinian, who invited them to Conftantinople; and while the one inftructed the rifing generation in the schools of eloquence, the other filled the capital and provinces with more lafting monuments In a trifling dispute relative to the of his art. walls or windows of their contiguous houses, he had been vanquished by the eloquence of his neighbour Zeno; but the orator was defeated in his turn by the mafter of mechanics, whose malicious, though harmless, stratagems are darkly represented by the ignorance of Agathias. a lower room, Anthemius arranged several vesfels or cauldrons of water, each of them covered by the wide bottom of a leathern tube, which rose to a narrow top, and was artificially conveyed among the joifts and rafters of the adjacent building. A fire was kindled beneath the cauldron; the steam of the boiling water ascended through the tubes; the house was shaken by the efforts of imprisoned air, and its trembling inhabitants might wonder that the city was unconscious of the earthquake which they had felt. At another time, the friends of Zeno, as they fat

CHAP, at table, were dazzled by the intolerable light which flashed in their eyes from the reflecting mirrors of Anthemius; they were aftonished by the noise which he produced from a collision of certain minute and fonorous particles; and the orator declared in tragic style to the senate, that a mere mortal must yield to the power of an antagonift, who shook the earth with the trident of Neptune, and imitated the thunder and lightning of Jove himself. The genius of Anthemius and his colleague Ifidore the Milefian, was excited and employed by a prince, whose taste for architecture had degenerated into a mischievous and coftly passion. His favourite architects submitted their defigns and difficulties to Justinian, and discreetly confessed how much their laborious meditations were furpaffed by the intuitive knowledge or celeftial inspiration of an Emperor, whose views were always directed to the benefit of his people, the glory of his reign, and the falvation of his foul 102.

Foundachurch of St. Sophia.

The principal church which was dedicated by tion of the the founder of Constantinople to Saint Sophia, or the eternal wifdom, had been twice deftroyed by fire: after the exile of John Chryfoftom, and during the Nika of the blue and green factions. No fooner did the tumult fubfide, than the Chriftian populace deplored their facrilegious rafhness; but they might have rejoiced in the cala-

mity,

¹⁰² See Procopius (de Edificiis, l.i. c. 1, 2. l.ii. c. 3.). He relates a coincidence of dreams which supposes some fraud in Justinian or his architect. They both faw, in a vision, the same plan for stopping an inundation at Dara. A ftone quarry near Jerusalem was revealed to the Emperor (1. v. c. 6.): an angel was tricked into the perpetual custody of St. Sophia (Anonym. de Antiq. C. P. l. iv. p. 70.).

mity, had they foreseen the glory of the new tem- c H A P. ple which at the end of forty days was ftrenuoufly undertaken by the piety of Justinian 103. The ruins were cleared away, a more spacious plan was described, and as it required the consent of some proprietors of ground, they obtained the most exorbitant terms from the eager defires and timorous conscience of the monarch. Anthemius formed the defign, and his genius directed the hands of ten thousand workmen, whose payment in pieces of fine filver was never delayed beyond the evening. The Emperor himself, clad in a linen tunic, surveyed each day their rapid progress, and encouraged their diligence by his familiarity, his zeal, and his rewards. The new cathedral of St. Sophia was confecrated by the patriarch, five years, eleven months, and ten days from the first foundation; and in the midst of the folemn festival. Justinian exclaimed with devout vanity, "Glory be to God, who hath "thought me worthy to accomplish fo great a

¹⁰³ Among the crowd of ancients and moderns who have celebrated the edifice of St. Sophia, I shall distinguish and follow, 1. Four original spectators and historians: Procopius (de Edific. l.i. c. 1.), Agathias (I. v. p. 152, 153.), Paul Silentiarius (in a poem of 1026 hexameters, ad calcem Annæ Comnem. (Alexiad.), and Evagrius (l. iv. c. 31.). 2. Two legendary Greeks of a later period: George Codinus (de Origin C. P. p. 64-74.), and the anonymous writer of Banduri (Imp. Orient. tom.i. 1. iv. p. 65-80. 3. The great Byzantine antiquarian, Ducange (Comment. ad Paul Silentiar. p. 525-598. and C. P. Christ. l. iii. p. 5-78.). 4. Two French Travellers - the one Peter Gyllius (de Topograph. C. P. l. ii. c. 3, 4.) in the xvith; the other, Grelot (Voyage de C. P. p. 95-164. Paris, 1680, in 4to: he has given plans, prospects, and infide-views of St. Sophia; and his plans, though on a fmaller scale, appear more correct than those of Ducange. I have adopted and reduced the measures of Grelot: but as no Christian can now ascend the dome, the height is borrowed from Evagrius, compared with Gyllius, Greaves, and the Oriental Geographer. ee work.

CHAP. "work; I have vanquished thee, O Solomon 104!" But the pride of the Roman Solomon, before twenty years had elapfed, was humbled by an earthquake, which overthrew the eastern part of the dome. Its fplendour was again reftored by the perseverance of the same prince; and in the thirty-fixth year of his reign, Justinian celebrated the fecond dedication of a temple, which remains, after twelve centuries, a flately monument of his fame. The architecture of St. Sophia, which is now converted into the principal mosch, has been imitated by the Turkish sultans, and that venerable pile continues to excite the fond admiration of the Greeks, and the more rational curiofity of European travellers. The eye of the spectator is disappointed by an irregular prospect of halfdomes and shelving roofs: the western front, the principal approach, is deftitute of fimplicity and magnificence: and the scale of dimensions has been much furpassed by several of the Latin cathedrals. But the architect who first erected an aerial cupola, is entitled to the praise of bold defign and skilful execution. The dome of St. Sophia, illuminated by four-and-twenty windows is formed with fo small a curve, that the depth is equal only to one-fixth of its diameter; the meafure of that diameter is one hundred and fifteen feet, and the lofty centre, where a crefcent has

Description.

³⁰ Solomon's temple was furrounded with courts, porticoes, &c.; but the proper structure of the house of God was no more (if we take the Egyptian or Hebrew cubit at 22 inches) than 55 feet in height, 362 in breadth, and 110 in length-a small parish church, says Prideaux (Connection, vol. i. p. 144. folio); but few fanctuaries could be valued at four or five millions sterling!

supplanted the cross, rifes to the perpendicular CHAP. height of one hundred and eighty feet above the pavement. The circle which encompasses the dome, lightly repofes on four ftrong arches, and their weight is firmly supported by four massy piles, whose strength is assisted on the northern and fouthern fides by four columns of Egyptian granite. A Greek crofs, infcribed in a quadrangle, represents the form of the edifice; the exact breadth is two hundred and forty-three feet, and two hundred and fixty-nine may be affigned for the extreme length from the fanctuary in the east to the nine western doors which open into the vestibule, and from thence into the narthex or exterior portico. That portico was the humble flation of the penitents. The nave or body of the church was filled by the congregation of the faithful; but the two fexes were prudently diftinguished, and the upper and lower galleries were allotted for the more private devotion of the women. Beyond the northern and fouthern piles, a baluftrade, terminated on either fide by the thrones of the emperor and the patriarch, divided the nave from the choir: and the space, as far as the steps of the altar, was occupied by the clergy and fingers. The altar itself, a name which infenfibly became familiar to Chriftian ears, was placed in the eastern recess, artificially built in the form of a demi-cylinder; and this fanctuary communicated by feveral doors with the facrifty, the veftry, the baptistery, and the contiguous buildings, subservient either to the pomp of worship, or the private use of the eccle-

CHAP. ecclefiaftical ministers. The memory of past cat lamities inspired Justinian with a wife resolution, that no wood, except for the doors, should be admitted into the new edifice; and the choice of the materials was applied to the strength, the lightness, or the splendour of the respective parts. The folid piles which fuftained the cupola were composed of huge blocks of freestone, hewn into fquares and triangles, fortified by circles of iron, and firmly cemented by the infusion of lead and quicklime: but the weight of the cupola was diminished by the levity of its substance, which confifts either of pumice-stone that floats in the water, or of bricks from the ifle of Rhodes, five times less ponderous than the ordinary fort. The whole frame of the edifice was constructed of brick; but those base materials were concealed by a crust of marble; and the inside of St. Sophia, the cupola, the two larger, and the fix fmaller, femi-domes, the walls, the hundred columns, and the pavement, delight even the eyes of barbarians, with a rich and variegated picture. A poet of, who beheld the primitive lustre of St. Sophia, enumerates the colours, the shades. and the fpots of ten or twelve marbles, jaf-

Marbles.

105 Pau Silentiarius, in dark and poetic language, describes the various stones and marbles that were employed in the edifice of St. Sophia (P. ii. p. 129. 133. &c. &c.): 1. The Caryftian - pale, with iron veins. 2. The Phrygian - of two forts, both of a rofy hue; the one with a white shade, the other purple, with filver flowers. 3. The Porphyry of Egypt - with fmall stars. 4. The green marble of Laconia. 5. The Carian-from Mount Iassis, with oblique veins, white and red. 6. The Lydian - pale, with a red flower. 7. The African or Mauritanian - of a gold or faffron hue. 8. The Celtic - black, with white veins. 9. The Bolphoric - white, with black edges. Besides the Proconnesian, which formed the pavement; The salian, Molossian, &c. which are less diffinctly painted.

pers, and porphyries, which nature had profusely CHAP. diversified, and which were blended and contrafted as it were by a skilful painter. The triumph of Christ was adored with the last spoils of Paganism, but the greater part of these costly stones was extracted from the quarries of Asia Minor, the ifles and continent of Greece, Egypt, Africa, and Gaul. Eight columns of porphyry, which Aurelian had placed in the temple of the fun, were offered by the piety of a Roman matron; eight others of green marble were presented by the ambitious zeal of the magistrates of Ephefus: both are admirable by their fize and beauty, but every order of architecture disclaims their fantastic capitals. A variety of ornaments and figures was curioufly expressed in mosaic; and the images of Christ, of the Virgin, of saints, and of angels, which have been defaced by Turkish fanaticism, were dangerously exposed to the superflition of the Greeks. According to the fanctity of each object, the precious metals were diffributed in thin leaves or in folid maffes. balustrade of the choir, the capitals of the pillars. the ornaments of the doors and galleries, were of gilt bronze; the spectator was dazzled by the glittering aspect of the cupola; the fanctuary contained forty thousand pound weight of filver; and the holy vases and vestments of the altar were of the pureft gold, enriched with ineftimable gems. Before the structure of the church had risen two cubits above the ground, forty-five thousand two hundred pounds were already confumed; and the whole expence amounted to Riches.

three

C H A P. three hundred and twenty thousand: each reader. according to the measure of his belief, may estimate their value either in gold or filver; but the fum of one million sterling is the result of the lowest computation. A magnificent temple is a laudable monument of national tafte and religion, and the enthusiast who entered the dome of St. Sophia, might be tempted to suppose that it was the refidence, or even the workmanship, of the Deity. Yet how dull is the artifice, how infignificant is the labour, if it be compared with the formation of the vilest infect that crawls upon the furface of the temple!

Churches and palaces.

So minute a description of an edifice which time has respected, may attest the truth, and excuse the relation of the innumerable works, both in the capital and provinces, which Justinian constructed on a smaller scale and less durable foundations 6. In Conftantinople alone, and the adjacent suburbs, he dedicated twenty-five churches to the honour of Christ, the Virgin, and the faints: most of these churches were decorated with marble and gold; and their various fituation was skilfully chosen in a populous square, or a pleasant grove; on the margin of the fea-shore, or on some lofty eminence which overlooked the continents of Europe and Asia. The church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, and that of St. John at Ephefus, appear

106 The fix books of the Edifices of Procopius are thus distributed: the first is confined to Constantinople; the second includes Mesopotamia and Syria; the third, Armenia and the Euxine; the fourth, Europe; the fifth, Asia Minor and Palestine; the fixth, Egypt and Africa. Italy is forgot by the Emperor or the historian, who published this work of adulation before the date (A. D. 555.) of its final conquest.

to have been framed on the same model: their CHAP. domes aspired to imitate the cupolas of St. Sophia; but the altar was more judiciously placed under the centre of the dome, at the junction of four flately porticoes, which more accurately expressed the figure of the Greek cross. The Virgin of Jerusalem might exult in the temple erected by her Imperial votary on a most ungrateful fpot, which afforded neither ground nor materials to the architect. A level was formed, by raising part of a deep valley to the height of the mountain. The stones of a neighbouring quarry were hewn into regular forms; each block was fixed on a peculiar carriage drawn by forty of the strongest oxen, and the roads were widened for the paffage of fuch enormous weights. Lebanon furnished her loftiest cedars for the timbers of the church; and the feafonable discovery of a vein of red marble, supplied its beautiful columns, two of which, the supporters of the exterior portico, were esteemed the largest in the The pious munificence of the Emperor was diffused over the Holy Land; and if reason fhould condemn the monasteries of both sexes which were built or reftored by Justinian, yet charity must applaud the wells which he sunk, and the hospitals which he founded for the relief of the weary pilgrims. The schismatical temper of Egypt was ill-entitled to the royal bounty; but in Syria and Africa fome remedies were applied to the difafters of wars and earthquakes, and both Carthage and Antioch, emerging from their ruins, might revere the name of their gracious beneC H A P. benefactor 107. Almost every saint in the calendar acquired the honours of a temple; almost every city of the empire obtained the folid advantages of bridges, hospitals, and aqueducts; but the fevere liberality of the monarch disdained to indulge his fubjects in the popular luxury of baths and theatres. While Justinian laboured for the public fervice, he was not unmindful of his own dignity and eafe. The Byzantine palace, which had been damaged by the conflagration was reflored with new magnificence; and fome notion may be conceived of the whole edifice, by the vestibule or hall, which, from the doors perhaps, or the roof, was furnamed chalce, or the brazen. The dome of a spacious quadrangle was supported by maffy pillars; the pavement and walls were encrusted with many-coloured marbles—the emerald green of Laconia, the fiery red, and the white Phrygian stone interfected with veins of a fea-green hue: the mofaic paintings of the dome and fides represented the glories of the African and Italian triumphs. On the Afiatic shore of the Propontis, at a small distance to the east of Chalcedon, the costly palace and gardens of Heræum 108 were prepared for the fummer refidence of Justinian, and more especially of Theodora. The poets of the age have celebrated the rare alliance of nature and art,

¹⁹⁷ Justinian once gave forty-five centenaries of gold (180,000*l*.) for the repairs of Antioch after the earthquake (John Malala, tom. ii. p. 146—149.).

¹⁰⁸ For the Heræum, the palace of Theodora, fee Gyllius (de Bofporo Thracio, I.iii. c. xi.), Aleman. (Not. ad Anecdot. p. 80, 81. who quotes feveral epigrams of the Anthology), and Ducange (C. P. Chrift. I.iv. c. 13. p. 175, 176.).

the harmony of the nymphs of the groves, the CHAP. fountains, and the waves; yet the crowd of, attendants who followed the court complained of their inconvenient lodgings 100, and the nymphs, were too often alarmed by the famous Porphyrio. a whale of ten cubits in breadth, and thirty in length, who was stranded at the mouth of the river Sangaris after he had infested more than half a century the feas of Conftantinople 110.

multiplied by Justinian; but the repetition of Europe. those timid and fruitless precautions exposes to a philosophic eye the debility of the empire ".". From Belgrade to the Euxine, from the conflux of the Save to the mouth of the Danube, a chain of above fourfcore fortified places was extended along the banks of the great river. Single watchtowers were changed into spacious citadels; vacant walls, which the engineers contracted or

fortress defended the ruins of Trajan's bridge 112,

109 Compare, in the Edifices (l. i. c. 11.) and in the Anecdotes (c. 8. 15.), the different flyles of adulation and malevolence; stript of the paint or cleanfed from the dirt, the object appears to be the same.

enlarged according to the nature of the ground, were filled with colonies or garrifons; a strong

The fortifications of Europe and Afia were Fortifica-

Procopius, l. viii. 29; most probably a stranger and wanderer, as the Mediterranean does not breed whales. Balænæ guogue in nostra maria penetrant (Plin. Hift. Natur. ix. 2.). Between the polar circle and the tropic, the cetaceous animals of the ocean grow to the length of 50. 80, or 100 feet (Hift. des Voyages, tom. xv. p. 289. Pennant's British Zoology, vol. iii. p. 35.).

Montesquieu observes (tom. iii. p. 503. Considerations sur la Grandeur et la Decadence des Romains, c. xx.) that Justinian's empire was like France in the time of the Norman inroads-never fo weak as when every village was fortified.

¹¹² Procopius affirms (l. iv. c. 6.) that the Danube was stopped by the ruins of the bridge. Had Apollodorus, the Architect, left a description

CHAP, and feveral military stations affected to spread beyond the Danube the pride of the Roman But that name was divefted of its terrors; the Barbarians, in their annual inroads, passed and contemptuously repassed, before these useless bulwarks; and the inhabitants of the frontier, instead of reposing under the shadow of the general defence, were compelled to guard, with inceffant vigilance, their feparate habita-The folitude of ancient cities was replenished; the new foundations of Justinian acquired, perhaps too hastily, the epithets of impregnable and populous; and the auspicious place of his own nativity attracted the grateful reverence of the vainest of princes. Under the name of Justiniana prima, the obscure village of Tauresium became the seat of an archbishop and a præfect, whose jurisdiction extended over seven warlike provinces of Illyricum 113; and the corrupt appellation of Giustendil still indicates, about twenty miles to the fouth of Sophia, the refidence of a Turkish sanjak 114. For the use of the Emperor's countrymen, a cathedral, a palace,

> of his own work, the fabulous wonders of Dion Caffius (I. Ixviii. p.1129.) would have been corrected by the genuine picture. Trajan's bridge confifted of twenty or twenty-two stone piles with wooden arches; the river is shallow, the current gentle, and the whole interval no more than 443 (Reimer ad Dion, from Marfigli) or 515 toifes (d'Anville Geographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 305.).

> 113 Of the two Dacias, Mediterranea and Ripenfis, Dardania, Prævalitana, the fecond Mæsia, and the fecond Macedonia. See Justinian (Novell. xi.), who speaks of his castles beyond the Danube, and of

homines semper bellicus sudoribus inhærentes.

¹¹⁴ See d'Anville (Memoires de l'Academie, &c. tom. xxxi. p 289, 290.), Rycaut (Present State of the Turkish Empire, p. 97. 316.), Marfigli (Stato Militare del Imperio Ottomano, p. 130.). The fanjak of Giustendil is one of the twenty under the beglerbeg of Rumelia, and his district maintains 48 zaims and 588 timariots.

and

and an aqueduct, were speedily constructed; the CHAP. public and private edifices were adapted to the greatness of a royal city; and the strength of the walls refifted, during the life-time of Justinian, the unskilful affaults of the Huns and Sclavonians. Their progress was sometimes retarded. and their hopes of rapine were disappointed. by the innumerable caftles, which, in the provinces of Dacia, Epirus, Theffaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, appeared to cover the whole face of the country. Six hundred of these forts were built or repaired by the Emperor: but it feems reasonable to believe, that the far greater part confifted only of a stone or brick tower, in the midst of a square or circular area, which was furrounded by a wall and ditch, and afforded in a moment of danger some protection to the peafants and cattle of the neighbouring villages 115. Yet these military works, which exhausted the public treasure, could not remove the just apprehenfions of Justinian and his European subjects. The warm baths of Anchialus in Thrace were rendered as fafe as they were falutary: but the rich pastures of Thessalonica were foraged by the Scythian cavalry; the delicious vale of Tempe, three hundred miles from the Danube, was continually alarmed by the found of war 116; and no unfortified spot, however distant or soli-

115 These fortifications may be compared to the castles in Mingrelia (Chardin, Voyages en Perse, tom. i. p. 60. 131.—a natural picture.

¹¹⁶ The valley of Tempe is fituate along the river Peneus, between the hills of Offa and Olympus: it is only five miles long, and in fome places no more than 120 feet in breadth. Its verdant beauties are elegantly described by Pliny (Hift. Natur. 1. iv. 15.), and more diffusely by Ælian Hift. Var. 1. iii. c. i.).

CHAP. tary, could fecurely enjoy the bleffings of peace. The streights of Thermopylæ, which seemed to protect, but which had fo often betrayed, the fafety of Greece, were diligently ftrengthened by the labours of Justinian. From the edge of the fea-shore, through the forest and vallies, and as far as the fummit of the Theffalian mountains, a ftrong wall was continued, which occupied every practicable entrance. Inflead of an hafty crowd of peafants, a garrifon of two thousand foldiers was stationed along the rampart; granaries of corn, and refervoirs of water, were provided for their use; and by a precaution that infpired the cowardice which it forefaw, convenient fortresses were erected for their retreat. The walls of Corinth, overthrown by an earthquake, and the mouldering bulwarks of Athens and Platæa, were carefully reftored; the Barbarians were discouraged by the prospect of succeffive and painful fieges; and the naked cities of Peloponnesus were covered by the fortifications of the ishmus of Corinth. At the extremity of Europe, another peninfula, the Thracian Cherfonefus, runs three days journey into the fea, to form, with the adjacent shores of Asia, the ftreights of the Hellespont. The intervals between eleven populous towns were filled by lofty woods, fair pastures, and arable lands: and the ifthmus, or thirty-feven fladia or furlongs, had been fortified by a Spartan general nine hundred years before the reign of Justinian 117. In an age

¹¹⁷ Xenophon Hellenic. l. iii. c. 2. After a long and tedious converfation with the Byzantine declaimers, how refreshing is the truth, the fimplicity, the elegance of an Attic writer!

of freedom and valour, the flightest rampart may CHAP. prevent a furprise; and Procopius appears infenfible of the fuperiority of ancient times, while he praifes the folid conftruction and double parapet of a wall, whose long arms stretched on either fide into the fea; but whose strength was deemed infufficient to guard the Cherfonefus, if each city, and particularly Galipoli and Seftus, had not been fecured by their peculiar fortifications. The long wall, as it was emphatically ftyled, was a work as difgraceful in the object, as it was respectable in the execution. The riches of a capital diffuse themselves over the neighbouring country, and the territory of Constantinople, a paradife of nature, was adorned with the luxurious gardens and villas of the fenators and opulent citizens. But their wealth ferved only to attract the bold and rapacious barbarians; the noblest of the Romans, in the bosom of peaceful indolence, were led away into Scythian captivity, and their fovereign might view, from his palace, the hoftile flames which were infolently spread to the gates of the Imperial city. At the distance only of forty miles, Anastasius was constrained to establish a last frontier; his long wall, of fixty miles from the Propontis to the Euxine, proclaimed the impotence of his arms; and as the danger became more imminent, new fortifications were added by the indefatigable prudence of Justinian 118.

Afia Minor, after the submission of the Isau- Security of

Alia, after

118 See the long wall in Evagrius (l. iv. c. 38.). This whole article is drawn from the fourth book of the Edifices, except Anchialus (I.iii. c. 7.). rians, VOL. VII.

the conquest of Ifauria.

C H A P. rians 110, remained without enemies and without fortifications. Those bold favages, who had difdained to be the subjects of Gallienus, persisted two hundred and thirty years in a life of independence and rapine. The most successful princes respected the strength of the mountains and the despair of the natives; their fierce spirit was fometimes foothed with gifts, and fometimes restrained by terror; and a military count, with three legions, fixed his permanent and ignominious station in the heart of the Roman provinces 120. But no fooner was the vigilance of power relaxed or diverted, than the light-armed fquadrons descended from the hills, and invaded the peaceful plenty of Afia. Although the Ifaurians were not remarkable for flature or bravery, want rendered them bold, and experience made them skilful in the exercise of predatory war. They advanced with fecrecy and speed to the attack of villages and defenceless towns; their flying parties have fometimes touched the Hellefpont, the Euxine, and the gates of Tarfus, Antioch, or Damascus 121; and the spoil was lodged in their inaccessible mountains, before the Roman troops had received their orders, or the distant province had computed its lofs. The guilt of

Turn back to vol. i. p. 454. In the course of this history, I have fometimes mentioned, and much oftener flighted, the hafty inroads of the Haurians, which were not attended with any confequences.

121 See the full and wide extent of their inroads in Philostorgius (Hift. Eccles. 1. xi. c. 8), with Godefroy's learned Differtations.

rebellion

¹²⁰ Trebellius Pollio in Hift. August. p. 107. who lived under Diocletian, or Constantine. See likewise Pancirolus ad Not. Imp. Orient. c. 115. 141. See Cod. Theodof. l.ix. tit. 35. leg. 37. with a copious collective Annotation of Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 256, 257.

rebellion and robbery excluded them from the CHAP. rights of national enemies; and the magistrates. XL. were instructed by an edict, that the trial or punishment of an Isaurian, even on the festival of Easter, was a meritorious act of justice and piety 122. If the captives were condemned to domeftic flavery, they maintained, with their fword or dagger, the private quarrel of their mafters; and it was found expedient for the public tranquillity, to prohibit the fervice of fuch dangerous retainers. When their countryman Tarcaliffeus or Zeno afcended the throne, he invited a faithful and formidable band of Isaurians, who infulted the court and city, and were rewarded by an annual tribute of five thousand pounds of gold. But the hopes of fortune depopulated the mountains, luxury enervated the hardiness of their minds and bodies, and in proportion as they mixed with mankind, they became lefs qualified for the enjoyment of poor and folitary freedom. After the death of Zeno, his fucceffor Anaflafius fuppreffed their penfions, exposed their persons to the revenge of the people, banished them from Constantinople, and prepared to fuftain a war, which left only the alternative of victory or fervitude. A brother of the last emperor usurped the title of Augustus, his cause was powerfully supported by the arms, the treafures, and the magazines collected by Zeno; and the native Isaurians must have formed the small-

¹²² Cod. Juftinian. l. ix. tit. 12. leg. 10. The punishments are severe—a fine of an hundred pounds of gold, degradation, and even death. The public peace might afford a pretence, but Zeno was desirous of monopolizing the valour and service of the lfaurians.

A.D.

CHAP. est portion of the hundred and fifty thousand barbarians under his ftandard, which was fanctified, for the first time, by the presence of a fighting bishop. Their disorderly numbers were vanquished in the plains of Phrygia by the valour and discipline of the Goths; but a war of fix years almost exhausted the courage of the Emperor 23. The Isaurians retired to their mountains; their fortreffes were fuccessively besieged and ruined; their communication with the fea was intercepted; the bravest of their leaders died in arms; the furviving chiefs, before their execution, were dragged in chains through the hippodrome; a colony of their youth was transplanted into Thrace, and the remnant of the people submitted to the Roman government. Yet some generations elapsed before their minds were reduced to the level of flavery. The populous villages of Mount Taurus were filled with horsemen and archers; they refisted the impofition of tributes, but they recruited the armies of Justinian; and his civil magistrates, the proconful of Cappadocia, the Count of Isauria, and the prætors of Lycaonia and Pisidia, were in-

> 123 The Isaurian war and the triumph of Anastasius are briefly and darkly represented by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 106, 107.), Evagrius (l. iii. c.35.), Theophanes (p. 118-120.), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

> vefted with military power to reftrain the licentious practice of rapes and affaffinations 124.

¹²⁴ Fortes ea regio (fays Justinian) viros habet, nec in ullo differt ab Ifauria, though Procopius (Perfic. l. i. c. 18.) marks an effential difference between their military character; yet in former times the Lycaonians and Pisidians had defended their liberty against the great King (Xenophon. Anabasis, 1. iii. c. 2.). Justinian introduces some false and ridiculous erudition of the ancient empire of the Pisidians, and of Lycaon, who, after vifiting Rome (long before Æneas), gave a name and people to Lycaonia (Novell. 24, 25. 27. 30.).

If we extend our view from the tropic to the CHAP. mouth of the Tanais, we may observe on one hand. XL. the precautions of Justinian to curb the favages Fortificaof Æthiopia 125, and on the other, the long walls tions of the which he conftructed in Crimæa for the protection of his friendly Goths, a colony of three thoufand shepherds and warriors 126. From that pen- From the infula to Trebizond, the eastern curve of the Euxine to the Persian Euxine was fecured by forts, by alliance, or by frontier. religion: and the possession of Lazica, the Colchos of ancient, the Mingrelia of modern geography, foon became the object of an important war. Trebizond, in after-times the feat of a romantic empire, was indebted to the liberality of Justinian for a church, an aqueduct, and a caftle, whose ditches are hewn in the folid rock. From that maritime city, a frontier line of five hundred miles may be drawn to the fortress of Circefium, the last Roman station on the Euphrates 127. Above Trebizond immediately, and five days journey to the fouth, the country rifes into dark forests and craggy mountains, as favage though not fo lofty as the Alps and the Pyrenees.

125 See Procopius, Perfic. I. i. c. 19. The altar of national concord, of annual facrifice and oaths, which Diocletian had erected in the ifle of Elephantine, was demolished by Justinian with less policy than zeal.

¹² Procopius de Edificiis, I. iii. c. 7. Hift. I. viii. c. 3, 4. These unambitious Goths had refused to follow the standard of Theodoric As late as the xvth and xvith century, the name and nation might be difcovered between Caffa and the Streights of Azoph (d'Auville Memoires de l'Academie, tom. xxx. p. 240.). They well deserved the curiosity of Busbequius (p. 321-326.): but seem to have vanished in the more recent account of the Miffions du Levant (tom. i.), Tott, Peyfionel, &c.

For the geography and architecture of this Armenian border, fee the Persian Wars and Edifices (l.ii. c. 4 -7. l.iii. c. 2-7.) of Procopius.

C H A P. In this rigorous climate 128, where the fnows feldom melt, the fruits are tardy and tafteless, even honey is poisonous; the most industrious tillage would be confined to some pleasant vallies; and the pastoral tribes obtained a scanty sustenance from the flesh and milk of their cattle. The Chalybians 129 derived their name and temper from the iron quality of the foil; and, fince the days of Cyrus, they might produce, under the various appellations of Chaldæans and Zanians, an uninterrupted prescription of war and rapine. Under the reign of Justinian, they acknowledged the God and the Emperor of the Romans, and feven fortreffes were built in the most accessible passes, to exclude the ambition of the Persian monarch 130. The principal fource of the Euphrates descends from the Chalybian mountains, and feems to flow towards the west and the Euxine; bending to the southwest, the river passes under the walls of Satala,

> 128 The country is described by Tournefort (Voyage au Levant, tom.iii. lettre xvii. xviii.). That skilful botanist soon discovered the plant that infects the honey (Plin. xxi. 44, 45.). He observes, that the soldiers of Lucullus might indeed be aftonished at the cold, since, even in the plain of Erzerum, fnow fometimes falls in June, and the harvest is feldom finished before September. The hills of Armenia are below the fortieth degree of latitude; but in the mountainous country which I inhabit, it is well known that an afcent of some hours carries the traveller from the climate of Languedoc to that of Norway, and a general theory has been introduced, that under the line an elevation of 2400 toiles is equivalent to the cold of the polar circle (Remond, Observations fur les Voyages de Coxe dans la Suisse, tom.ii. p. 104.).

> 129 The identity or proximity of the Chalybians, or Chaldwans, may be investigated in Strabo (l. xii. p. 825, 826.), Cellarius (Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 202-204.), and Freret (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. iv. p. 594.). Xenophon supposes, in his romance (Cyropæd. 1. iii.), the same Barbarians against whom he had fought in his retreat (Anabasis, I. iv.).

130 Procopius, Persic. I. i. c. 15. De Edific. I. iii. c. 6.

and Melitene (which were restored by Justinian CHAP. as the bulwarks of the leffer Armenia), and gradually approaches the Mediterranean fea; till at length, repelled by Mount Taurus131, the Euphrates inclines his long and flexible course to the fouth-east and the Gulph of Persia. Among the Roman cities beyond the Euphrates, we diftinguish two recent foundations, which were named from Theodofius, and the relics of the martyrs; and two capitals, Amida and Edeffa, which are celebrated in the hiftory of every age. Their strength was proportioned by Justinian to the danger of their fituation. A ditch and palifade might be fufficient to refift the artless force of the cavalry of Scythia; but more elaborate works were required to fuftain a regular fiege against the arms and treasures of the great King. His skilful engineers understood the methods of conducting deep mines, and of raising platforms to the level of the rampart; he shook the strongest battlements with his military engines, and fometimes advanced to the affault with a line of moveable turrets on the backs of elephants. In the great cities of the East, the disadvantage of space. perhaps of position, was compensated by the zeal of the people, who feconded the garrison in the defence of their country and religion; and the fabulous promise of the Son of God, that Edessa should never be taken, filled the citizens with

valiant

¹³¹ Ni Taurus obstet in nostra maria venturus (Pomponius Mela, iii. 8.). Pliny, a poet as well as a naturalist (v. 20.), personisies the river and mountain, and describes their combat. See the course of the Tigris and Euphrates, in the excellent treatise of D'Anville.

CHAP. valiant confidence, and chilled the befiegers with doubt and difmay 132. The fubordinate towns of Armenia and Mesopotamia were diligently ftrengthened, and the posts which appeared to have any command of ground or water, were occupied by numerous forts, fubftantially built of stone, or more hastily erected with the obvious materials of earth and brick. The eye of Justinian investigated every spot; and his cruel precautions might attract the war into fome lonely vale, whose peaceful natives, connected by trade and marriage, were ignorant of national discord and the quarrels of princes. Westward of the Euphrates, a fandy defert extends above fix hundred miles to the Red Sea. Nature had interposed a vacant solitude between the ambition of two rival empires: the Arabians, till Mahomet arose, were formidable only as robbers: and in the proud fecurity of peace, the fortifications of Syria were neglected on the most vulnerable fide.

Death of Perozes, King of Persia, A. D. 488.

But the national enmity, at least the effects of that enmity, had been suspended by a truce, which continued above fourfcore years. An ambaffador from the Emperor Zeno accompanied the rash and unfortunate Perozes, in his expedition against the Nepthalites or white Huns, whose conquests had been stretched from the Caspian to

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¹³² Procopius (Persic. l. ii. c. 12.) tells the story with the tone half fceptical, half fuperflitious, of Herodotus. The promife was not in the primitive lye of Eusebius, but dates at least from the year 400, and a third lye, the Veronica, was foon raifed on the two former (Evagrius, 1. iv. c. 57.). As Edessa has been taken, Tillemont must disclaim the promise (Mem. Eccles. tom. i. p. 362-383. 617.).

the heart of India, whose throne was enriched CHAP. with emeralds 133, and whose cavalry was supported by a line of two thousand elephants 134. The Persians were twice circumvented, in a situation which made valour ufeless and flight impossible; and the double victory of the Huns was atchieved by military ftratagem. They dismissed their royal captive after he had submitted to adore the majesty of a barbarian; and the humiliation was poorly evaded by the cafuiftical fubtilty of the Magi, who instructed Perozes to direct his attention to the rifing fun. The indignant fucceffor of Cyrus forgot his danger and his gratitude; he renewed the attack with headftrong fury, and loft both his army and his life 135. The death of Perozes abandoned Perfia to her foreign and domestic enemies; and twelve years

The Indo-Scythæ continued to reign from the time of Augustus (Dionys. Perieget. 1088. with the Commentary of Eustathius, in Hudfon, Geograph. Minor. tom. iv) to that of the elder Justin (Cosmas, Topograph. Christ. l. xi. p. 338, 339.). On their origin and conquests, see D'Anville (sur l'Inde, p. 18. 45. &c. 69. 85. 89.). In the second century they were masters of Larice or Guzerat.

135 See the fate of Phirouz or Perozes, and its consequences, in Procopius (Persic. 1. i. c. 3—6.), who may be compared with the fragments of Oriental history (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 351. and Texeira, History of Persia, translated or abridged by Stephens, l. i. c. 32. p. 132—138.). The chronology is ably ascertained by Asseman. (Bibliot. Orient. tom. is. p. 396—427.)

¹³ They were purchased from the merchants of Adulis who traded to India (Cosmas, Topograph. Christ. l. xi. p. 339.); yet, in the estimate of precious stones, the Scythian emerald was the first, the Bactrian the second, the Æthiopian only the third (Hill's Theophrastus, p. 61. &c. 92.). The production, mines, &c. of emeralds, are involved in darkness; and it is doubtful whether we posses any of the twelve forts known to the ancients (Goguet, Origine des Loix, &c. part. ii. l. ii. c. 2. art. 3.). In this war the Huns got, or at least Perozes lost, the finest pearl in the world, of which Procopius relates a ridiculous sable.

The Perfian war, A.D. 502-505.

CHAP. of confusion elapsed before his son Cabades or Kobad could embrace any defigns of ambition or revenge. The unkind parfimony of Anastasius was the motive or pretence of a Roman war 136; the Huns and Arabs marched under the Persian standard, and the fortifications of Armenia and Mesopotamia were, at that time, in a ruinous or imperfect condition. The Emperor returned his thanks to the governor and people of Martyropolis, for the prompt furrender of a city which could not be fuccefsfully defended, and the conflagration of Theodofiopolis might justify the conduct of their prudent neighbours. Amida furtained a long and destructive siege: at the end of three months the loss of fifty thousand of the foldiers of Cabades was not balanced by any prospect of success, and it was in vain that the Magi deduced a flattering prediction from the indecency of the women on the ramparts, who had revealed their most fecret charms to the eyes of the affailants. At length, in a filent night, they ascended the most accessible tower, which was guarded only by fome monks, oppressed, after the duties of a festival, with sleep and wine. Scaling ladders were applied at the dawn of day, the presence of Cabades, his stern command, and his drawn fword, compelled the Persians to vanquish; and before it was sheathed, fourfcore thousand of the inhabitants had ex-

¹³⁶ The Persian war, under the reigns of Anastasius and Justin, may be collected from Procopius (Persic. l. i. c. 7, 8, 9.) Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 124—127.), Evagrius (l. iii. c. 37.), Marcellinus (in Chron. p. 47.), and Josue Stylites (apud Asseman. tom. i. p. 272-281.). piated

piated the blood of their companions. After CHAP. the fiege of Amida, the war continued three years, and the unhappy frontier tasted the full measure of its calamities. The gold of Anastasius was offered too late, the number of his troops was defeated by the number of their generals; the country was stripped of its inhabitants, and both the living and the dead were abandoned to the wild beafts of the defert. The refistance of Edessa, and the deficiency of spoil, inclined the mind of Cabades to peace; he fold his conquests for an exorbitant price: and the fame line, though marked with flaughter and devastation, still feparated the two empires. To avert the repetition of the same evils. Anastasius resolved to found a new colony, fo ftrong, that it should defy the power of the Perfian, fo far advanced towards Affyria, that its flationary troops might defend the province by the menace or operation of offensive war. For this purpose, the town of Fortifica-Dara 137, fourteen miles from Nifibis, and four tions of days journey from the Tigris, was peopled and adorned; the hafty works of Anastasius were improved by the perseverance of Justinian; and without infifting on places less important, the fortifications of Dara may reprefent the military architecture of the age. The city was furrounded with two walls, and the interval between them, of fifty paces, afforded a retreat to the cattle of

137 The description of Dara is amply and correctly given by Procopius (Persic. l.i. c. 10. l.ii. c. 13. De Edific. l.ii. c. 1, 2, 3. l.iii. c. 5.). See the fituation in D'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 53, 54, 55.), though he feems to double the interval between Dara and Nisibis.

CHAP, the besieged. The inner wall was a monument of strength and beauty: it measured fixty feet from the ground, and the height of the towers was one hundred feet; the loop-holes, from whence an enemy might be annoyed with miffile weapons, were fmall, but numerous: the foldiers were planted along the rampart, under the fhelter of double galleries, and a third platform. fpacious and fecure, was raifed on the fummit The exterior wall appears to of the towers. have been less lofty, but more folid; and each tower was protected by a quadrangular bulwark. A hard rocky foil refifted the tools of the miners, and on the fouth-east, where the ground was more tractable, their approach was retarded by a new work, which advanced in the shape of an half-The double and treble ditches were moon. filled with a stream of water; and in the management of the river, the most skilful labour was employed to supply the inhabitants, to diffress the beliegers, and to prevent the mischiefs of a natural or artificial inundation. Dara continued more than fixty years to fulfil the wishes of its founders, and to provoke the jealoufy of the Persians, who incessantly complained, that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires.

The Cafpian or Iberian gates.

Between the Euxine and the Caspian, the countries of Colchos, Iberia, and Albania, are interfected in every direction by the branches of Mount Caucasus; and the two principal gates, or paffes, from north to fouth, have been frequently

con-

confounded in the geography both of the ancients CHAP. and moderns. The name of Caspian or Albinian gates is properly applied to Derbend 138, which occupies a fhort declivity between the mountains and the fea; the city, if we give credit to local tradition, had been founded by the Greeks; and this dangerous entrance was fortified by the kings of Perfia, with a mole, double walls, and doors of iron. The Iberian gates 139 are formed by a narrow paffage of fix miles in Mount Caucasus, which opens from the northern fide of Iberia or Georgia, into the plain that reaches to the Tanais and the Volga. A fortress, designed by Alexander perhaps, or one of his fuccesfors, to command that important pass, had descended by right of conquest or inheritance to a prince of the Huns, who offered it for a moderate price to the Emperor: but while Anastasius paused, while he timorously computed the cost and the diftance, a more vigilant rival interposed, and Cabades forcibly occupied the streights of Caucasus. The Albinian and Iberian gates excluded the horsemen of Scythia from the shortest and most practicable roads, and the whole front of the mountains was covered by the rampart of Gog and Magog, the long wall which has excited the

138 For the city and pass of Derbend, see D'Herbelot Bibliot. Orient. (p. 157. 291. 807.), Petite de la Croix (Hist. de Gengiscan, l. iv. c. 9.), Histoire Genealogique des Tatars (tom. i. p. 120.), Olearius (Voyage en Perse, p. 1039—1041.), and Corneille le Bruyn (Voyages, tom. i. p. 146, 147.): his view may be compared with the plan of Olearius, who judges the wall to be of shells and gravel hardened by time.

³⁰ Procopius, though with fome confusion, always denominates them Caspian (Persic. l. i. c. 10.). The pass is now styled Tatartopa, the Tartargates (D'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 119, 120.).

curiofity

CHAP. curiofity of an Arabian caliph 140 and a Ruffian conqueror 141. According to a recent description, huge stones seven feet thick, twenty-one feet in length, or height, are artificially joined without iron or cement, to compose a wall, which runs above three hundred miles from the fhores of Derbend, over the hills and through the vallies of Daghestan and Georgia. Without a vision, such a work might be undertaken by the policy of Cabades; without a miracle, it might be accomplished by his fon, so formidable to the Romans under the name of Chofroes; so dear to the Orientals, under the appellation of Nushirwan. The Persian monarch held in his hand the keys both of peace and war; but he stipulated, in every treaty, that Justinian should contribute to the expence of a common barrier, which equally protected the two empires from the inroads of the Scythians 142.

VII. Justinian suppressed the schools of Athens and the confulfhip of Rome, which had given fo many fages and heroes to mankind. Both thefe institutions had long fince degenerated from their

primitive

The imaginary rampart of Gog and Magog, which was feriously explored and believed by a caliph of the ixth century, appears to be derived from the gates of Mount Caucafus, and a vague report of the wall of China (Geograph. Nubienfis, p. 267-270. Memoires de l'Academie, tom. xxxi. p. 210-219.).

¹⁴⁷ See a learned differtation of Baier, de muro Caucaseo, in Comment. Acad. Petropol. ann. 1726, tom. i. p. 425-463.; but it is destitute of a map or plan. When the Czar Peter I. became master of Derbend in the year 1722, the measure of the wall was found to be 3285 Russian orgygia, or fathom, each of feven feet English; in the whole somewhat more than four miles in length.

^{&#}x27;42 See the fortifications and treaties of Chofroes or Nushirwan, in Procopius (Perfic. l. i. c. 16. 22. l. ii.) and D'Herbelot (p. 682.).

primitive glory; yet some reproach may be justly C H A P. inflicted on the avarice and jealoufy of a prince, XL. by whose hand such venerable ruins were destroyed.

Athens, after her Persian triumphs, adopted The the philosophy of Ionia and the rhetoric of Sicily; Athens. and these studies became the patrimony of a city whose inhabitants, about thirty thousand males, condenfed, within the period of a fingle life, the genius of age and millions. Our sense of the dignity of human nature is exalted by the fimple recollection, that Ifocrates 143 was the companion of Plato and Xenophon; that he affifted, perhaps with the historian Thucydides, at the first reprefentations of the Oedipus of Sophocles and the Iphigenia of Euripides; and that his pupils Æschines and Demosthenes contended for the crown of patriotism in the presence of Aristotle, the master of Theophrastus, who taught at Athens with the founders of the Stoic and Epicurean fects 144. The ingenuous youth of Attica enjoyed the benefits of their domestic education, which was communicated without envy to the rival cities. Two thousand disciples heard the lessons of Theophrastus 145; the schools of rhetoric must

143 The life of Hocrates extends from Olymp. lxxxvi. 1. to cx. 3. (ante Christ. 436-338.). See Dionys. Halicarn. tom. ii. p. 149, 150. edit. Hudson. Plutarch (five anonymous), in Vit. X. Oratorem, p. 1538 -1543. edit. H. Steph. Phot. cod. cclix. p. 1453.

145 Diogen. Laert. de. Vit. Philosoph. l. v. fegm. 37. p. 289.

¹⁴⁴ The schools of Athens are copiously though concilely represented in the Fortuna Attica of Meursius (c. viii. p. 59-73. in tom. i. Opp.). For the state and arts of the city, see the first book of Pausanias, and a small tract of Dicaerchus (in the second volume of Hudson's Geographers), who wrote about Olymp. cxvii. Dodwell's Differtat. fect. 4.).

CHAP. have been still more populous than those of philos fophy; and a rapid fuccession of students disfused the fame of their teachers as far as the utmost limits of the Grecian language and name. Those limits were enlarged by the victories of Alexander; the arts of Athens furvived her freedom and dominion; and the Greek colonies which the Macedonians planted in Egypt, and fcattered over Afia, undertook long and frequent pilgrimages to worship the Muses in their favourite temple on the banks of the Iliffus. The Latin conquerors respectfully listened to the instructions of their subjects and captives; the names of Cicero and Horace were enrolled in the schools of Athens; and after the perfect fettlement of the Roman empire, the natives of Italy, of Africa, and of Britain, converfed in the groves of the academy with their fellow-students of the East. The studies of philosophy and eloquence are congenial to a popular state, which encourages the freedom of inquiry, and fubmits only to the force of persuasion. In the republics of Greece and Rome, the art of speaking was the powerful engine of patriotism or ambition; and the schools of rhetoric poured forth a colony of statesmen and legislators. When the liberty of public debate was suppressed, the orator, in the honourable profession of an advocate, might plead the cause of innocence and justice; he might abuse his talents in the more profitable trade of panegyric; and the same precepts continued to dictate the fanciful declamations of the fophist, and the chaster beauties of historical 10

torical composition. The fystems which pro- CHAP. fessed to unfold the nature of God, of man, and of the universe, entertained the curiofity of the philosophic student; and according to the temper of his mind, he might doubt with the sceptics, or decide with the stoics, sublimely speculate with Plato, or feverely argue with Ariftotle. The pride of the adverse sects had fixed an unattainable term of moral happiness and perfection: but the race was glorious and falutary; the difciples of Zeno, and even those of Epicurus, were taught both to act and to fuffer; and the death of Petronius was not less effectual than that of Seneca, to humble a tyrant by the discovery of his impotence. The light of science could not indeed be confined within the walls of Athens. Her incomparable writers address themselves to the human race; the living masters emigrated to Italy and Afia; Berytus, in later times, was devoted to the study of the law; astronomy and physic were cultivated in the museum of Alexandria; but the Attic schools of rhetoric and philosophy maintained their superior reputation from the Peloponnesian war to the reign of Justinian. Athens, though fituate in a barren foil, poffeffed a pure air, a free navigation, and the monuments That facred retirement was felof ancient art. dom diffurbed by the bufiness of trade or government; and the last of the Athenians were diftinguished by their lively wit, the purity of their tafte and language, their focial manners, and fome traces, at least in discourse, of the magnanimity of their fathers. In the fuburbs of the city, VOL. VII. L

C HAP. city, the academy of the Platonists, the lycaum of the Peripatetics, the portico of the Stoics, and the garden of the Epicureans, were planted with trees and decorated with flatues: and the philofophers, instead of being immured in a cloister, delivered their inftructions in spacious and pleafant walks, which, at different hours, were confecrated to the exercifes of the mind and body. The genius of the founders still lived in those venerable feats; the ambition of succeeding to the masters of human reason, excited a generous emulation; and the merit of the candidates was determined, on each vacancy, by the free voices of an enlightened people. The Athenian professors were paid by their disciples: according to their mutual wants and abilities, the price appears to have varied from a mina to a talent; and Ifocrates himfelf, who derides the avarice of the fophists, required in his school of rhetoric, about thirty pounds from each of his hundred The wages of industry are just and pupils. honourable, yet the fame Ifocrates flied tears at the first receipt of a stipend; the Stoic might blush when he was hired to preach the contempt of money; and I should be forry to discover, that Aristotle or Plato so far degenerated from the example of Socrates, as to exchange knowledge for gold. But some property of lands and houses was settled by the permission of the laws, and the legacies of deceafed friends, on the philosophic chairs of Athens. Epicurus bequeathed to his disciples the gardens which he had purchased for eighty minæ or two hundred and fifty pounds,

pounds, with a fund fufficient for their frugal CHAP. fubfiftence and monthly festivals 146; and the patrimony of Plato afforded an annual rent, which, in eight centuries, was gradually increased from three to one thousand pieces of gold 147. The schools of Athens were protected by the wifest and most virtuous of the Roman princes. The library which Hadrian founded, was placed in a portico adorned with pictures, statues, and a roof of alabafter, and supported by one hundred columns of Phrygian marble. The public falaries were affigned by the generous spirit of the Antonines; and each professor, of politics, of rhetoric, of the Platonic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean philosophy, received an annual flipend of ten thousand drachmæ, or more than three hundred pounds sterling 148. After the death of Marcus, these liberal donations, and the privileges attached to the thrones of science. were abolished and revived, diminished and enlarged: but some vestige of royal bounty may be found under the fuccessors of Constantine: and their arbitrary choice of an unworthy candidate might tempt the philosophers of Athens to re-

1.6 See the testament of Epicurus in Diogen. Laert. l. x. segm. 16—20. p. 611, 612. A fingle epistle (ad Familiaries, xiii. 1.) displays the injustice of the Areopagus, the fidelity of the Epicureans, the dextrous politeness of Cicero, and the mixture of contempt and esteem with which the Roman senators considered the philosophy and philosophers of Greece.

¹⁴⁷ Damascius, in Vit. Isidor. apud Photium, cod. ccxlii. p. 1054.
¹⁴⁸ See Lucian (in Eunech. tom. ii. p. 350—359. edit. Reitz), Philostratus (in Vit. Sophist. l. ii. c. 2.), and Dion Cassius, or Xiphilin (l. lxxi.
p. 1195.). with their editors Du Soul, Olearius, and Reimar, and, above
all, Salmasius (ad Hist. August. p. 72.). A judicious philosopher (Smith's
Wealth of Nations, Vol. ii. p. 340—374.) prefers the free contribution
of the students to a fixed stipend for the professor.

CHAP. gret the days of independence and poverty149. It is remarkable, that the impartial favour of the Antonines was bestowed on the four adverse fects of philosophy, which they considered as equally useful or at least as equally innocent. Socrates had formerly been the glory and the reproach of his country; and the first lessons of Epicurus fo strangely scandalized the pious ears of the Athenians, that by his exile, and that of his antagonists, they filenced all vain disputes concerning the nature of the gods. But in the enfuing year they recalled the hafty decree, reflored the liberty of the schools, and were convinced, by the experience of ages, that the moral character of philosophers is not affected by the diversity of their theological speculations 150.

They are fuppreffed by Justinian.

The Gothic arms were less fatal to the schools of Athens than the establishment of a new religion, whose ministers superfeded the exercise of reason, refolved every question by an article of faith, and condemned the infidel or fceptic to eternal flames. In many a volume of laborious controversy, they exposed the weakness of the understanding and the corruption of the heart, infulted human nature in the fages of antiquity, and profcribed the spirit of philosophical inquiry, so repugnant to the

Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 310, &c.

¹⁵⁰ The birth of Epicurus is fixed to the year 342 before Christ (Bayle.), Olympiad cix. 3.; and he opened his school at Athens, Olymp. cxviii. 3. 306 years before the fame zera. This intolerent law (Athenæus, I. xiii. p. 610. Diogen. Lærtius, I. v. f. 38. p. 290. Julius Pollux, ix. 5, was enacted in the fame, or the fucceeding year (Sigonius, Opp. tom. v. p. 62. Menagius, ad Diogen. Laert. p. 204. Corfini Fasti Attici, tom. iv. p. 67, 68.). Theophrastus, chief of the Peripatetics, and disciple of Aristotle, was involved in the same exile.

doctrine, or at least to the temper, of an humble CHAP. believer. The furviving fect of the Platonifts, whom Plato would have blushed to acknowledge, extravagantly mingled a fublime theory with the practice of fuperfition and magic; and as they remained alone in the midst of a Christian world, they indulged a fecret rancour against the government of the church and flate; whose severity was still suspended over their heads. About a century after the reign of Julian 151, Proclus 152 Proclus. was permitted to teach in the philosophic chair of the academy, and fuch was his industry that he frequently, in the same day, pronounced five lessons, and composed seven hundred lines. His fagacious mind explored the deepest questions of morals and metaphyfics, and he ventured to urge eighteen arguments against the Christian doctrine of the creation of the world. But in the intervals of study, he personally conversed with Pan, Æsculapius, and Minerva, in whose mysteries he was fecretly initiated, and whose proftrate statues he adored; in the devout perfuasion that the philosopher, who is a citizen of the universe, should be the priest of its various deities. An eclipfe of the fun announced his approaching end; and his life, with that of his scholar Isi-

151 This is no fanciful æra: the Pagans reckoned their calamities from the reign of their hero. Proclus, whose nativity is marked by his horofcope (A. D. 412, February 8, at C. P.), died 124 years απο Ιελιανε βασιλεως, A. D. 485. (Marin. in Vità Procli, c. 36.).

¹⁵² The life of Proclus, by Marinus, was published by Fabricius (Hamburgh, 1700, et ad calcem Bibliot. Latin. Lond. 1703). See Suidas (tom. iii. p. 185, 186.). Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. v. c. 26. p. 449—552.), and Brucker (Hift. Crit. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 319—326.).

His fucceffors, A.D.

CHAP. dore 153, compiled by two of their most learned disciples, exhibits a deplorable picture of the fecond childhood of human reason. Yet the golden chain, as it was fondly ftyled, of the 485-529. Platonic fuccession, continued forty-four years from the death of Proclus to the edict of Juftinian 154, which imposed a perpetual filence on the schools of Athens, and excited the grief and indignation of the few remaining votaries of Grecian science and superstition. friends and philosophers, Diogenes and Hermias, Eulalius and Prifcian, Damascius, Isidore, and Simplicius, who diffented from the religion of their fovereign, embraced the refolution of feeking in a foreign land the freedom which was denied in their native country. They had heard, and they credulously believed, that the republic of Plato was realized in the despotic government of Persia, and that a patriot king reigned over the happiest and most virtuous of nations. They were foon aftonished by the natural discovery, that Persia resembled the other countries of the globe; that Chofroes, who affected the name of a philosopher, was vain, cruel, and ambitious; that bigotry, and a spirit of intolerance, prevailed among the Magi; that the nobles were haughty, the courtiers fervile, and the magistrates unjust; that the guilty fometimes escaped, and that the

154 The suppression of the schools of Athens is recorded by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 187. fur Decio Cof. Sol.), and an anonymous Chronicle

in the Vatican library (apud Aleman. p. 106.).

¹⁵³ The life of Isidore was composed by Damascius (apud Photium, cod. ccxlii. p. 1028-1076.). See the last age of the Pagan philosophers in Brucker (tom. ii. p. 341-351.).

innocent were often oppressed. The disappoint- c HAP. ment of the philosophers provoked them to overlook the real virtues of the Persians; and they were fcandalized, more deeply perhaps than became their profession, with the plurality of wives and concubines, the incestuous marriages, and the custom of exposing dead bodies to the dogs and vultures, inflead of hiding them in the earth, or confuming them with fire. Their repentance was expressed by a precipitate return, and they loudly declared that they had rather die on the borders of the empire, than enjoy the wealth and favour of the Barbarian. From this journey, however, they derived a benefit which reflects the pureft luftre on the character of Chofroes. He required, that the feven fages who had visited the court of Persia, should be exempted from the penal laws which Justinian enacted against his Pagan fubjects; and this privilege, expressly flipulated in a treaty of peace, was guarded by the vigilance of a powerful mediator 155. Sim- The last of plicius and his companions, ended their lives in the philo-fophers. peace and obscurity: and as they left no disciples, they terminate the long lift of Grecian philosophers, who may be justly praised, notwithstanding their defects, as the wifest and most virtuous of their contemporaries. The writings of Simplicius are now extant. His phyfical and metaphyfical commentaries on Aristotle have

²⁵⁵ Agathius (l. ii. p. 69, 70, 71.) relates this curious flory. Chofroes afcended the throne in the year 531, and made his first peace with the Romans in the beginning of 533, a date most compatible with his young fame and the old age of Isidore (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient tom. iii. p. 404. Pagi, tom. ii. p. 543- 550.).

CHAP. passed away with the fashion of the times; but his moral interpretation of Epictetus is preserved in the library of nations, as a classic book, most excellently adapted to direct the will, to purify the heart, and to confirm the understanding, by a just confidence in the nature both of God and man.

The Roman confulfhip extinguished by Juftinian. A. D. 541.

About the same time that Pythagoras first invented the appellation of philosopher, liberty and the confulship were founded at Rome by The revolutions of the conthe elder Brutus. fular office, which may be viewed in the fucceffive lights of a fubstance, a shadow, and a name, have been occasionally mentioned in the present history. The first magistrates of the republic had been chosen by the people, to exercise, in the fenate and in the camp, the powers of peace and war, which were afterwards translated to the emperors. But the tradition of ancient dignity was long revered by the Romans and Barbarians. A Gothic historian applauds the consulship of Theodoric as the height of all temporal glory and greatness 156; the King of Italy himself congratulates those annual favourites of fortune, who, without the cares, enjoyed the splendour of the throne; and at the end of a thousand years, two confuls were created by the fovereigns of Rome and Constantinople, for the fole purpose of giving a date to the year, and a festival to the people. But the expences of this feftival, in which the wealthy and the vain aspired to fur-

¹⁵⁶ Caffidor. Variarum Epist. vi. 1. Jornandes, c. 57. p. 696. edit. Grot. Quod fummum bonum primumque in mundo decus edicitur. pass

pass their predecessors, insensibly arose to the CHAP enormous fum of fourfcore thousand pounds: the wifest senators declined an useless honour, which involved the certain ruin of their families: and to this reluctance I should impute the frequent chasms in the last age of the consular Fasti. The predecessors of Justinian had affisted from the public treasures the dignity of the less opulent candidates; the avarice of that prince preferred the cheaper and more convenient method of advice and regulation 157. Seven processions or spectacles were the number to which his edict confined the horse and chariot races, the athletic fports, the music, and pantomimes of the theatre, and the hunting of wild beafts; and finall pieces of filver were discreetly subflituted to the gold medals, which had always excited tumult and drunkenness, when they were fcattered with a profuse hand among the populace. Nothwithstanding these precautions, and his own example, the fuccession of consuls finally ceased in the thirteenth year of Justinian, whose despotic temper might be gratified by the filent extinction of a title which admonished the Romans of their ancient freedom 158. Yet the annual confulship still lived in the minds of the people: they fondly expected its fpeedy reftoration; they applauded the gracious conde-

¹⁵⁷ See the regulations of Justinian (Novell. cv.), dated at Constantinople, July 5, and addressed to Strategius, treasurer of the empire.

fcention

⁵⁸ Procopius, in Anecdot. c. 26. Aleman. p. 106. In the xviiith year after the confulfhip of Bafilius, according to the reckoning of Marcellinus, Victor, Marius, &c. the fecret history was composed, and, in the eyes of Procopius, the confulfhip was finally abolished.

CHAP. scension of successive princes, by whom it was affumed in the first year of their reign; and three centuries elapsed, after the death of Justinian, before that obfolete dignity, which had been suppressed by custom, could be abolished by law 159. The imperfect mode of diftinguishing each year by the name of a magistrate, was ufually supplied by the date of a permanent æra: the creation of the world, according to the feptuagint version, was adopted by the Greeks 160; and the Latins, fince the age of Charlemagne, have computed their time from the birth of Christ 161.

> 159 By Leo the philosopher (Novell. xciv. A. D. 886-911.). See Pagi (Differtat. Hypatica, p. 325-362.) and Ducange (Glofs. Græc. p. 1635, 1636.). Even the title was vilified; consulatus codicilli ----

vilescunt, says the Emperor himself.

160 According to Julius Africanus, &c. the world was created the first of September, 5508 years, three months, and twenty-five days before the birth of Christ (see Pezron, Antiquité des Tems defendue, p. 20-28.); and this æra has been used by the Greeks, the Oriental Christians, and even by the Ruffians, till the reign of Peter I. The period, however arbitrary, is clear and convenient. Of the 7296 years which are supposed to elapse fince the creation, we shall find 3000 of ignorance and darkness; 2000 either fabulous or doubtful; 1000 of ancient history, commencing with the Persian empire, and the Republics of Rome and Athens; 1000 from the fall of the Roman empire in the west to the dif. covery of America; and the remaining 296 will almost complete three centuries of the modern state of Europe and mankind. I regret this chronology, to far preferable to our double and perplexed method of counting backwards and forwards the years before and after the Christian æra.

161 The zera of the world has prevailed in the East fince the vith general council (A. D. 681). In the West the Christian æra was first invented in the vith century: it was propagated in the viiith by the authority and writings of venerable Bede; but it was not till the xth that the use became legal and popular. See l'Art de verifier les Dates, Differt. Preliminaire, p. iii. xii. Dictionaire Diplomatique, tom. i. p. 329-337. the works of a laborious fociety of Benedictine monks.

CHAP. XLI.

Conquests of Justinian in the West.—Character and first Campaigns of Belisarius.—He invades and subdues the Vandal Kingdom of Africa.—His Triumph.—The Gothic War.—He recovers Sicily, Naples, and Rome.—Siege of Rome by the Goths.—Their Retreat and Losses.—Surrender of Ravenna.—Glory of Belisarius.—His domestic Shame and Misfortunes.

TATHEN Justinian ascended the throne, about CHAP. fifty years after the fall of the Western empire, the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals Justinian had obtained a folid, and as it might feem, a refolves to invade legal establishment both in Europe and Africa. Africa. The titles which Roman victory had infcribed, A. D. 533. were erazed with equal justice by the sword of the Barbarians; and their fuccessful rapine derived a more venerable fanction from time, from treaties, and from the oaths of fidelity, already repeated by a fecond or third generation of obedient subjects. Experience and Christianity had refuted the superstitious hope, that Rome was founded by the gods to reign for ever over the nations of the earth. But the proud claim of perpetual and indefeafible dominion, which her foldiers could no longer maintain, was firmly afferted by her statesmen and lawyers, whose opinions have been fometimes revived and propagated in the modern

XLI.

After Rome CHAP. modern schools of jurisprudence. herfelf had been stripped of the Imperial purple, the princes of Conftantinople affumed the fole and facred sceptre of the monarchy; demanded, as their rightful inheritance, the provinces which had been subdued by the confuls, or possessed by the Cæfars; and feebly aspired to deliver their faithful subjects of the West from the usurpation of heretics and barbarians. The execution of this fplendid defign was in some degree referved for Justinian. During the five first years of his reign, he reluctantly waged a coftly and unprofitable war against the Persians; till his pride submitted to his ambition, and he purchased, at the price of four hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, the benefit of a precarious truce, which, in the language of both nations, was dignified with the appellation of the endless peace. The fafety of the East enabled the Emperor to employ his forces against the Vandals; and the internal state of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promifed a powerful fupport, to the Roman arms '.

State of the Vandals. Hilderic, A.D. 523-530-

According to the testament of the founder, the African kingdom had lineally descended to Hilderic the eldest of the Vandal princes. disposition inclined the son of a tyrant, the grand-

The complete feries of the Vandal war is related by Procopius in a regular and elegant narrative (l. i. c. 9-25. l. ii. c. 1-13.); and happy would be my lot, could I always tread in the footsteps of such a guide. From the entire and diligent perusal of the Greek text, I have a right to pronounce that the Latin and French versions of Grotius and Cousin may not be implicitly trusted; yet the president Cousin has been often praised, and Hugo Grotius was the first scholar of a learned age.

fon of a conqueror, to prefer the counsels of cle- CHAP. mency and peace; and his accession was marked XLL by the falutary edict, which reftored two hundred bishops to their churches, and allowed the free profession of the Athanasian creed 2. But the Catholics accepted, with cold and transient gratitude, a favour fo inadequate to their pretenfions, and the virtues of Hilderic offended the prejudices of his countrymen. The Arian clergy prefumed to infinuate that he had renounced the faith, and the foldiers more loudly complained that he had degenerated from the courage, of his ancestors. His ambassadors were suspected of a fecret and difgraceful negociation in the Byzantine court; and his general the Achilles 3, as he was named, of the Vandals, loft a battle against the naked and diforderly Moors. The public Gelimer, discontent was exasperated by Gelimer, whose 530-534. age, descent, and military fame gave him an apparent title to the fuccession: he assumed, with the confent of the nation, the reins of government; and his unfortunate fovereign funk without a struggle from the throne to a dungeon, where he was ftrictly guarded with a faithful

² See Ruinart, Hift. Perfecut. Vandal. c. xii. p. 589. His best evidence is drawn from the life of St. Fulgentius, composed by one of his disciples, transcribed in a great measure in the annals of Baronius, and printed in feveral great collections (Catalog. Bibliot. Bunaviænæ, tom.i. vol. ii. p. 1258.).

3 For what quality of the mind or body? For speed or beauty, or valour?—In what language did the Vandals read Homer?—Did he speak German ?- The Latins had four versions (Fabric. tom. i. l. ii. c. 3. p. 297.): yet in spite of the praises of Seneca (Consol. c. 26.), they appear to have been more fuccessful in imitating than in translating the Greek poets. But the name of Achilles might be famous and popuiar, even among the illiterate Barbarians.

C HAP. counsellor, and his unpopular nephew the Achilles of the Vandals. But the indulgence which Hilderic had shewn to his Catholic subjects had powerfully recommended him to the favour of Justinian who, for the benefit of his own feet, could acknowledge the use and justice of religious toleration: their alliance, while the nephew of Justin remained in a private station, was cemented by the mutual exchange of gifts and letters; and the Emperor Justinian afferted the cause of royalty and friendship. In two succeffive embassies, he admonished the usurper to repent of his treason, or to abstain, at least, from any further violence, which might provoke the displeasure of God and of the Romans; to reverence the laws of kindred and fuccession, and to fuffer an infirm old man peaceably to end his days, either on the throne of Carthage, or in the palace of Constantinople. The passions or even the prudence of Gelimer compelled him to reject these requests, which were urged in the haughty tone of menace and command; and he justified his ambition in a language rarely fpoken in the Byzantine court, by alleging the right of a free people to remove or punish their chief magistrate, who had failed in the execution of the kingly office. After this fruitless expostulation, the captive monarch was more rigorously treated, his nephew was deprived of his eyes, and the cruel Vandal, confident in his strength and distance, derided the vain threats and flow preparations of the Emperor of the East. Justinian refolved to deliver or revenge his friend, Gelimer

Gelimer to maintain his usurpation: and the war CHAP. was preceded, according to the practice of civilized nations, by the most folemn protestations that each party was fincerely defirous of peace.

The report of an African war was grateful only Debates to the vain and idle populace of Constantinople, on the African whose poverty exempted them from tribute, and war. whose cowardice was feldom exposed to military fervice. But the wifer citizens, who judged of the future by the paft, revolved in their memory the immense loss, both of men and money, which the empire had fustained in the expedition of Bafilifcus. The troops, which after five laborious campaigns, had been recalled from the Perfian frontier, dreaded the fea, the climate, and the arms of an unknown enemy. The ministers of the finances computed, as far as they might compute, the demands of an African war; the taxes which must be found and levied to supply those insatiate demands; and the danger, lest their own lives, or at least their lucrative employments, should be made responsible for the deficiency of the fupply. Inspired by such selfish motives (for we may not suspect him of any zeal for the public good), John of Cappadocia ventured to oppose in full council the inclinations of his mafter. He confessed, that a victory of fuch importance could not be too dearly purchased; but he represented in a grave discourse the certain difficulties and the uncertain event. "You undertake," faid the præfect, "to befiege Carthage by land, the distance is not less " than one hundred and forty days journey; on " the

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снар. " the sea, a whole year 4 must elapse before you " can receive any intelligence from your fleet. " If Africa should be reduced, it cannot be " preferved without the additional conquest of "Sicily and Italy. Success will impose the " obligation of new labours; a fingle misfortune " will attract the Barbarians into the heart of " your exhausted empire." Justinian felt the weight of this falutary advice; he was confounded by the unwonted freedom of an obfequious fervant; and the defign of the war would perhaps have been relinquished, if his courage had not been revived by a voice which filenced the doubts of profane reason. "I have seen a " vision," cried an artful or fanatic bishop of the East. "It is the will of heaven, O Emperor! that you should not abandon your holy enter-" prife for the deliverance of the African church. "The God of battles will march before your " ftandard, and difperfe your enemies, who are " the enemies of his Son." The Emperor might be tempted, and his counsellors were constrained, to give credit to this feafonable revelation: but they derived more rational hope from the revolt, which the adherents of Hilderic or Athanafius had already excited on the borders of the Vandal monarchy. Pudentius, an African subject, had-privately fignified his loyal intentions, and a finall military aid reftored the province of

⁴ A year - abfurd exaggeration! The conquest of Africa may be dated A.D. 533. September 14. It is celebrated by Justinian in the preface to his Institutes, which were published November 21. of the same year. Including the voyage and return, fuch a computation might be truly applied to our Indian empire. Tripoli

Tripoli to the obedience of the Romans. The CHAP. government of Sardinia had been entrusted to Godas, a valiant barbarian; he suspended the payment of tribute, disclaimed his allegiance to the usurper, and gave audience to the emiffaries of Justinian, who found him master of that fruitful island, at the head of his guards, and proudly invested with the enfigns of royalty. The forces of the Vandals were diminished by difcord and fuspicion; the Roman armies were animated by the spirit of Belisarius; one of those heroic names which are familiar to every age and to every nation.

The Africanus of new Rome was born, and Character perhaps educated, among the Thracian peafants, and choice of Belifawithout any of those advantages which had form-rius. ed the virtues of the elder and the younger Scipio; a noble origin, liberal fludies, and the emulation of a free state. The filence of a loquacious fecretary may be admitted, to prove that the youth of Belifarius could not afford any subject of praise: he served, most affuredly with valour and reputation, among the private guards of Justinian; and when his patron became Emperor, the domestic was promoted to military After a bold inroad into Perfarcommand. menia, in which his glory was shared by a colleague, and his progress was checked by an

⁵ ε Ωρμητο δε δ Βελισαριών εκ Γερμανίας, ή Θρακώντε και Ιλλυρίων μεταξυ кытал (Procop. Vandal. l.i. с. II.). Aleman (Not. ad Anecdot. p. 5.), an Italian, could eafily reject the German vanity of Giphanius and Velferus, who wished to claim the hero; but his Germania, a metropolis of Thrace, I cannot find in any civil or ecclefiaftical lifts of the provinces and cities.

XLI. His fervices in the Persian war,

> A. D. 529-532.

С н A P. enemy, Belifarius repaired to the important station of Dara, where he first accepted the service of Procopius, the faithful companion, and diligent historian of his exploits. The Mirranes of Perfia advanced, with forty thousand of her best troops, to raze the fortifications of Dara; and fignified the day and the hour on which the citizens should prepare a bath for his refreshment after the toils of victory. He encountered an adverfary equal to himfelf, by the new title of General of the East; his superior in the science of war, but much inferior in the number and quality of his troops, which amounted only to twenty-five thousand Romans and strangers, relaxed in their discipline, and humbled by recent disasters. the level plain of Dara refused all shelter to stratagem and ambush, Belisarius protected his front with a deep trench, which was prolonged at first in perpendicular, and afterwards in parallel lines, to cover the wings of cavalry advantageously posted to command the flanks and rear of the enemy. When the Roman centre was shaken, their well-timed and rapid charge decided the conflict: the standard of Persia fell; the immortals fled; the infantry threw away their bucklers, and eight thousand of the vanquished were left on the field of battle. In the next campaign, Syria was invaded on the fide of the defert; and Belifarius, with twenty thousand men, hastened from Dara to the relief of the province. During the whole fummer, the defigns of the enemy

⁶ The two first Persian campaigns of Belisarius are fairly and copioufly related by his fecretary (Perfic. l. i. c.12-18.)

were baffled by his skilful dispositions: he pressed C H A P. their retreat, occupied each night their camp of . XLI. the preceding day, and would have fecured a bloodless victory, if he could have resisted the impatience of his own troops. Their valiant promife was faintly supported in the hour of battle; the right wing was exposed by the treacherous or cowardly defertion of the Christian Arabs; the Huns, a veteran band of eight hundred warriors, were oppressed by superior numbers; the slight of the Haurians was intercepted; but the Roman infantry stood firm on the left, for Belisarius himfelf, difmounting from his horse, shewed them that intrepid despair was their only safety. They turned their backs to the Euphrates, and their faces to the enemy; innumerable arrows glanced without effect from the compact and shelving order of their bucklers; an impenetrable line of pikes was opposed to the repeated affaults of the Persian cavalry; and after a resistance of many hours, the remaining troops were skilfully embarked under the shadow of the night. The Persian commander retired with disorder and difgrace, to answer a strict account of the lives of fo many foldiers which he had confumed in a barren victory. But the fame of Belifarius was not fullied by a defeat, in which alone he had faved his army from the consequences of their own rafhness: the approach of peace relieved him from the guard of the eaftern frontier, and his conduct in the fedition of Constantinople amply discharged his obligations to the Emperor. When the African war became the topic of popular discourse and secret deliberation, each of the M 2

CHAP. the Roman generals was apprehensive, rather

than ambitious, of the dangerous honour; but as foon as Justinian had declared his preference of fuperior merit, their envy was rekindled by the unanimous applause which was given to the choice of Belifarius. The temper of the Byzantine court may encourage a suspicion, that the hero was darkly affifted by the intrigues of his wife, the fair and fubtile Antonina, who alternately enjoyed the confidence, and incurred the hatred, of the Empress Theodora. The birth of Antonina was ignoble, she descended from a family of charioteers; and her chastity has been Yet she stained with the foulest reproach. reigned with long and absolute power over the mind of her illustrious husband; and if Antonina difdained the merit of conjugal fidelity, fhe expressed a manly friendship to Belisarius, whom fhe accompanied with undaunted refolution in all the hardships and dangers of a military life ?.

Preparations for the African war,

The preparations for the African war were not unworthy of the last contest between Rome and Carthage. The pride and flower of the army con-A.D. 533. fifted of the guards of Belifarius, who, according to the pernicious indulgence of the times, devoted themselves by a particular oath of fidelity to the fervice of their patron. Their strength and stature, for which they had been curiously selected, the goodness of their horses and armour, and the affiduous practice of all the exercises of war, enabled them to act whatever their courage might prompt;

⁷ See the birth and character of Antonina, in the Anecdotes, c. 1. and the notes of Alemannus, p. 3.

and their courage was exalted by the focial ho- CHAP. nour of their rank, and the personal ambition of favour and fortune. Four hundred of the bravest of the Heruli marched under the banner of the faithful and active Pharas: their untractable valour was more highly prized than the tame supmission of the Greeks and Syrians; and of such importance was it deemed to procure a reinforcement of fix hundred Massagetæ, or Huns, that they were allured by fraud and deceit to engage in a naval expedition. Five thousand horse and ten thousand foot were embarked at Constantinople for the conquest of Africa, but the infantry, for the most part levied in Thrace and Isauria, vielded to the more prevailing use and reputation of the cavalry; and the Scythian bow was the weapon on which the armies of Rome were now reduced to place their principal dependence. From a laudable defire to affert the dignity of his theme, Procopius defends the foldiers of his own time against the morose critics, who confined that respectable name to the heavy-armed warriors of antiquity, and maliciously observed that the word archer is introduced by Homer's as a term of contempt. "Such contempt might perhaps be due to the naked youths who appeared " on foot in the fields of Troy, and, lurking be-'hind a tomb-stone, or the shield of a friend,

"drew

⁸ See the preface of Procopius. The enemies of archery might quote the reproaches of Diomede (Iliad, Λ. 385, &c.) and the permittere vulnera ventus of Lucan (viii. 384.): yet the Romans could not defpife the arrows of the Parthians; and in the fiege of Troy, Pandarus, Paris, and Teucer, pierced those haughty warriors who insulted them as women or children.

CHAP. " drew the bow-string to their breast, and dis-" miffed a feeble and lifeless arrow. But our XLI. " archers (purfues the historian) are mounted " on horses, which they manage with admirable " fkill; their head and fhoulders are protected " by a cask or buckler; they wear greaves of " iron on their legs, and their bodies are guarded " by a coat of mail. On their right fide hangs " a quiver, a fword on their left, and their hand " is accustomed to wield a lance or javelin in " closer combat. Their bows are strong and " weighty; they fhoot in every possible direc-" tion, advancing, retreating, to the front, to "the rear, or to either flank; and as they are " taught to draw the bow-ftring not to the breaft, " but to the right ear, firm indeed must be the " armour that can refift the rapid violence of " their shaft." Fivehundred transports, navigated by twenty thousand mariners of Egypt, Cilicia, and Ionia, were collected in the harbour of Constantinople. The smallest of these vessels may be computed at thirty, the largest at five hundred tons; and the fair average will supply an allowance,

> 9 Νευρην μεν μαζω πελασεν, τοξω δε στόπρον (Iliad. Δ. 123.) How concife-how just -how beautiful is the whole picture! I fee the attitudes of the archer-I hear the twanging of the bow:

thousand

liberal, but not profuse, of about one hundred thousand tons 10, for the reception of thirty-five

Διγξε βιος, νευρη δε μεγ' ιαχεν, αλτο δ' οἰσος. The text appears to allow for the largeft wellels 50,000 medimni, or 3000 tons (fince the medimnus weighed 160 Roman or 120 averdupois, pounds). I have given a more rational interpretation, by suppoling that the Attic style of Procopius conceals the legal and popular modius, a fixth part of the medimnus (Hooper's Ancient Measures, p. 152, &c.). A contrary and indeed a firanger mistake, has crept into

thousand foldiers and failors, of five thousand CHAP. horses, of arms, engines, and military stores, and of a fufficient flock of water and provisions for a voyage, perhaps, of three months. The proud gallies, which in former ages swept the Mediterranean with fo many hundred oars, had long fince disappeared; and the fleet of Justinian was escorted only by ninety-two light brigantines, covered from the missile weapons of the enemy, and rowed by two thousand of the brave and robust youth of Constantinople. Twenty-two generals are named, most of whom were afterwards distinguished in the wars of Africa and Italy: but the fupreme command, both by land and fea, was delegated to Belifarius alone, with a boundless power of acting according to his difcretion as if the Emperor himself were present. The feparation of the naval and military profeffions is at once the effect and the cause of the modern improvements in the science of navigation and maritime war.

In the feventh year of the reign of Justinian, Departure and about the time of the fummer folftice, the of the whole fleet of fix hundred ships was ranged in A.D. 533. martial pomp before the gardens of the palace. June. The patriarch pronounced his benediction, the Emperor fignified his last commands, the general's trumpet gave the fignal of departure, and every heart, according to its fears or wifnes, explored

an oration of Dinarchus (contra Demosthenem, in Reiske Orator. Græc. tom. iv. P. ii. p. 34.). By reducing the number of ships from 500 to 50, and translating medianos by mines, or pounds, Coulin has generously allowed 500 tons for the whole of the Imperial fleet? - Did he never think?

M 4

with

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CHAP. with anxious curiofity the omens of misfortune and fuccess. The first halt was made at Perinthus or Heraclea, where Belifarius waited five days to receive fome Thracian horses, a military gift of his fovereign. From thence the fleet purfued their course through the midst of the Propontis; but as they ftruggled to pass the Streights of the Hellefpont, an unfavourable wind detained them four days at Abydus, where the general exhibited a memorable lesson of firmness and severity. Two of the Huns, who in a drunken quarrel had flain one of their fellow-foldiers, were inflantly shewn to the army fuspended on a lofty gibbet. The national indignity was refented by their countrymen, who disclaimed the servile laws of the empire, and afferted the free privilege of Scythia, where a finall fine was allowed to expiate the hafty fallies of intemperance and anger. Their complaints were specious, their clamours were loud, and the Romans were not averse to the example of diforder and impunity. But the rifing fedition was appealed by the authority and eloquence of the general: and he reprefented to the affembled troops the obligation of justice, the importance of discipline, the rewards of piety and virtue, and the unpardonable guilt of murder, which, in his apprehension, was aggravated rather than excused by the vice of intoxication". In the navigation from the Hellespont to Peloponnesus, which the Greeks,

[&]quot;I have read of a Greek legislator, who inflicted a double penalty on the crimes committed in a state of intoxication; but it seems agreed that this was rather a political than a moral law.

after the fiege of Troy had performed in four CHAP. days 12, the fleet of Belifarius was guided in their course by his master-galley, conspicuous in the day by the redness of the fails, and in the night by the torches blazing from the mast-head. It was the duty of the pilots, as they steered between the islands, and turned the capes of Malea and Tænarium, to preferve the just order and regular intervals of fuch a multitude of ships; as the wind was fair and moderate, their labours were not unfuccessful, and the troops were fafely difembarked at Methone on the Messenian coast, to repose themselves for a while after the fatigues of the fea. In this place they experienced how avarice, invested with authority, may sport with the lives of thousands which are bravely exposed for the public fervice. According to military practice, the bread or bifcuit of the Romans was twice prepared in the oven, and a diminution of one-fourth was cheerfully allowed for the loss of weight. To gain this miserable profit, and to fave the expence of wood, the præfect John of Cappadocia had given orders that the flour should be slightly baked by the same fire which warmed the baths of Constantinople: and when the facks were opened, a foft and mouldy paste was distributed to the army. Such unwholefome food, affifted by the heat of the climate

¹² Or even in three days, fince they anchored the first evening in the neighbouring isle of Tenedos: the second day they failed to Lesbos, the third to the promontory of Eubœa, and on the fourth they reached Argos (Homer, Odyss I. 130—183. Wood's Essay on Homer, p. 40—46.). A pirate sailed from the Hellespont to the seaport at Sparta in three days (Xenophon, Hellen, L ii. c. 1.).

CHAP. and feafon, foon produced an epidemical disease, which swept away five hundred foldiers. Their health was reftored by the diligence of Belifarius, who provided fresh bread at Methone, and boldly expressed his just and humane indignation: the Emperor heard his complaint; the general was praifed; but the minister was not punished. From the port of Methone, the pilots fleered along the western coast of Peloponnesus, as far as the isle of Zacynthus or Zant, before they undertook the voyage (in their eyes a most arduous voyage) of one hundred leagues over the Ionian fea. As the fleet was furprifed by a calm, fixteen days were confumed in the flow navigation; and even the general would have fuffered the intolerable hardfhip of thirst, if the ingenuity of Antonina had not preserved the water in glass bottles, which she buried deep in the fand in a part of the ship impervious to the rays of the fun. At length the harbour of Caucana 3, on the fouthern fide of Sicily, afforded a fecure and hospitable shelter. The Gothic officers who governed the island in the name of the daughter and grandfon of Theodoric obeyed their imprudent orders, to receive the troops of Justinian like friends and allies; provisions were liberally supplied, the cavalry was remounted14, and Procopius foon returned from Syracuse with

13 Caucana, near Camarina, is at least 50 miles (350 or 400 stadia) from Syracuse (Cluver, Sicil a Antiqua, p. 191.).

16

⁴ Procopius, Gothic. l. i. c. 3. Tibi tollit hinnitum apta quadrigis equa, in the Sicilian pastures of Grosphus (Horat. Carm. ii. 16.). Acragas magnanimum quondam generator equorum (Virg. Æneid. fil. 704.). There's horfes, whose victories are immortalized by Pindar, were bred in this country.

correct information of the flate and defigus of the CHAP. Vandals. His intelligence determined Belifarius, to haften his operations, and his wife impatience was feconded by the winds. The fleet loft fight of Sicily, passed before the isle of Malta, difcovered the capes of Africa, ran along the coast with a ftrong gale from the north-east, and finally cast anchor at the promontory of Caput Vada, about five days journey to the fouth of Carthage 15.

If Gelimer had been informed of the approach Belifarius of the enemy, he must have delayed the conquest the coast of Sardinia, for the immediate defence of his per- of Africa fon and kingdom. A detachment of five thou-tember. fand foldiers, and one hundred and twenty gallies, would have joined the remaining forces of the Vandals; and the descendant of Genseric might have surprised and oppressed a fleet of deep-laden transports incapable of action, and of light brigantines that feemed only qualified for flight. Belifarius had fecretly trembled when he overheard his foldiers, in the paffage, emboldening each other to confess their apprehensions: if they were once on shore, they hoped to maintain the honour of their arms; but if they should be attacked at fea they did not blush to acknowledge that they wanted courage to contend at the same time with the winds, the waves, and the Barbarians 16. The knowledge of their fentiments

15 The Caput vada of Procopius (where Justinian afterwards founded a city—de Edific. I. vi. c. 6.) is the promontory of Ammon in Strabo, the Brachodes of Ptolemy, the Capaudia of the moderns, a long narrow flip that runs into the fea (Shaw's Travels, p. 111.).

6 A centurion of Mark Antony expressed, though in a more manly strain, the same dislike to the sea and to naval combats (Plutarch in Antonio, p. 1730. edit. Hen. Steph.).

decided

C H A P. decided Belifarius to feize the first opportunity of landing them on the coast of Africa; and he prudently rejected, in a council of war, the propofal of failing with the fleet and army into the port of Carthage. Three months after their departure from Constantinople, the men and horses. the arms and military flores, were fafely difembarked, and five foldiers were left as a guard on board each of the ships, which were disposed in the form of a femicircle. The remainder of the troops occupied a camp on the fea-shore, which they fortified, according to ancient discipline, with a ditch and rampart; and the discovery of a fource of fresh water, while it allayed the thirst, excited the superstitious confidence, of the Romans. The next morning, some of the neighbouring gardens were pillaged; and Belifarius after chaftifing the offenders, embraced the flight occasion, but the decisive moment, of inculcating the maxims of justice, moderation, and genuine "When I first accepted the commission " of fubduing Africa, I depended much lefs," faid the general, "on the numbers, or even the " bravery, of my troops, than upon the friendly " disposition of the natives, and their immortal 44 hatred to the Vandals. You alone can deprive " me of this hope: if you continue to extort by " rapine what might be purchased for a little " money, fuch acts of violence will reconcile " these implacable enemies, and unite them in a " just and holy league against the invaders of "their country." These exhortations were enforced by a rigid discipline, of which the foldiers themthemselves soon felt and praised the salutary ef. CHAP. fects. The inhabitants, instead of deserting their houses, or hiding their corn, supplied the Romans with a fair and liberal market: the civil officers of the province continued to exercife their functions in the name of Justinian; and the clergy, from motives of conscience and interest, affiduously laboured to promote the cause of a Catholic Emperor. The finall town of Sullecte 17. one day's journey from the camp, had the honour of being foremost to open her gates, and to refume her ancient allegiance: the larger cities of Leptis and Adrumetum imitated the example of loyalty as foon as Belifarius appeared; and he advanced without opposition as far as Graffe, a palace of the Vandal kings, at the distance of fifty miles from Carthage. The weary Romans indulged themselves in the refreshment of shady groves, cool fountains, and delicious fruits; and the preference which Procopius allows to these gardens over any that he had feen, either in the East or West, may be ascribed either to the taste or the fatigue of the historian. In three generations prosperity and a warm climate had dissolved the hardy virtue of the Vandals, who infenfibly became the most luxurious of mankind. In their villas and gardens, which might deserve the Per-

¹⁷ Sullecte is perhaps the Turri Hannibalis, an old building, now as large as the Tower of London. The march of Belifarius to Leptis, Adrumetum, &c. is illustrated by the campaign of Cæsar (Hirtius, de Bello Africano, with the Analyse of Guichardt.), and Shaw's Travels (p. 105—113.) in the same country.

CHAP. fian name of paradise 18, they enjoyed a cool and elegant repose; and, after the daily use of the bath, the Barbarians were feated at a table profufely spread with the delicacies of the land and fea. Their filken robes, loofely flowing after the fashion of the Medes, were embroidered with gold: love and hunting were the labours of their life, and their vacant hours were amused by pantomimes, chariot-races, and the mufic and dances of the theatre.

Defeats the Vandals in a

In a march of ten or twelve days, the vigilance of Belifarius was conftantly awake and active first battle. against his unseen enemies, by whom in every place, and at every hour, he might be fuddenly attacked. An officer of confidence and merit, John the Armenian, led the vanguard of three hundred horfe; fix hundred Maffagetæ covered at a certain distance the left flank; and the whole fleet fleering along the coaft, feldom loft fight of the army, which moved each day about twelve miles, and lodged in the evening in ftrong camps, or in friendly towns. The near approach of the Romans to Carthage filled the mind of Gelimer with anxiety and terror. He prudently wished to protract the war till his brother, with his veteran troops, should return from the conquest of Sardinia; and he now lamented the rash policy of his ancestors, who, by destroying the fortifica-

¹⁸ Παραδεισος καλλιτος άπαντων ών ημεις ισμεν. The paradifes, a name and fashion adopted from Persia, may be represented by the royal garden of Ispaham (Voyage d'Olearius, p. 774.). See, in the Greek romances, their most perfect model (Longus, Pastoral, l. iv. p. 99-101. Achillus Tatius, l. i. p. 22, 23.). tions

tions of Africa, had left him only the dangerous CHAP. refource of risking a battle in the neighbourhood of his capital. The Vandal conquerors, from their original number of fifty thousand, were multiplied, without including their women and children, to one hundred and fixty thousand fighting men: and fuch forces, animated with valour and union, might have crushed, at their first landing, the feeble and exhausted bands of the Roman general. But the friends of the captive king were more inclined to accept the invitations, than to relift the progress, of Belifarius; and many a proud Barbarian disguised his averfion to war under the more specious name of his hatred to the usurper. Yet the authority and promifes of Gelimer collected a formidable army. and his plans were concerted with fome degree of military skill. An order was dispatched to his brother Ammatas, to collect all the forces of Carthage, and to encounter the van of the Roman army at the diftance of ten miles from the city; his nephew Gibamund, with two thousand horse, was destined to attack their left, when the monarch himfelf, who filently followed, should charge their rear, in a fituation which excluded them from the aid or even the view of their fleet. But the rashness of Ammatas was fatal to himself and his country. He anticipated the hour of attack, outstripped his tardy followers, and was pierced with a mortal wound, after he had flain with his own hand twelve of his boldest antagonists. His Vandals fled to Carthage; the highway, almost ten miles, was strewed with dead

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CHAP. dead bodies; and it feemed incredible that fuch multitudes could be flaughtered by the fwords of three hundred Romans. The nephew of Gelimer was defeated after a flight combat by the fix hundred Maffagetæ: they did not equal the third part of his numbers: but each Scythian was fired by the example of his chief, who gloriously exercifed the privilege of his family, by riding foremost and alone to shoot the first arrow against the enemy. In the meanwhile, Gelimer himself, ignorant of the event, and mifguided by the windings of the hills, inadvertently paffed the Roman army, and reached the scene of action where Ammatas had fallen. He wept the fate of his brother and of Carthage, charged with irrefiftible fury the advancing squadrons, and might have purfued, and perhaps decided the victory, if he had not wasted those inestimable moments in the discharge of a vain, though pious, duty to the dead. While his spirit was broken by this mournful office, he heard the trumpet of Belifarius, who leaving Antonina and his infantry in the camp, preffed forwards with his guards and the remainder of the cavalry to rally his flying troops, and to restore the fortune of the day. Much room could not be found in this diforderly battle for the talents of a general; but the king fled before the hero; and the Vandals, accustomed only to a Moorish enemy, were incapable of withstanding the arms and difcipline of the Romans. Gelimer retired with hasty steps towards the defert of Numidia; but he had foon the confolation of learning that his private private orders for the execution of Hilderic and C H A P. his captive friends had been faithfully obeyed. The tyrant's revenge was useful only to his The death of a lawful prince excited enemies. the compassion of his people; his life might have perplexed the victorious Romans; and the lieutenant of Justinian, by a crime of which he was innocent, was relieved from the painful alternative of forfeiting his honour or relinquishing his conquests.

As foon as the tumult had fubfided, the feveral Reducparts of the army informed each other of the tion of accidents of the day; and Belifarius pitched his A. D. 533, camp on the field of victory, to which the tenth Sept. 15. mile-stone from Carthage had applied the Latin appellation of decimus. From a wife suspicion of the stratagems and resources of the Vandals, he marched the next day in order of battle, halted in the evening before the gates of Carthage, and allowed a night of repose, that he might not, in darkness and disorder, expose the city to the licenfe of the foldiers, or the foldiers themselves to the fecret ambush of the city. But as the fears of Belifarius were the refult of calm and intrepid reason, he was soon satisfied that he might confide, without danger, in the peaceful and friendly aspect of the capital. Carthage blazed with innumerable torches, the fignals of the public joy: the chain was removed that guarded the entrance of the port; the gates were thrown open, and the people, with acclamations of gratitude, hailed and invited their Roman deliverers. The defeat of the Vandals, and the freedom of Africa, were announced VOL. VII.

CHAP. announced to the city on the eve of St. Cyprian, when the churches were already adorned and illuminated for the festival of the martyr, whom three centuries of superstition had almost raised to a local deity. The Arians, confcious that their reign had expired, refigned the temple to the Catholics, who refcued their faint from profane hands, performed the holy rights, and loudly proclaimed the creed of Athanasius and Justinian. One awful hour reversed the fortunes of the contending parties. The fuppliant Vandals, who had fo lately indulged the vices of conquerors, fought an humble refuge in the fanctuary of the church; while the merchants of the East were delivered from the deepest dungeon of the palace by their affrighted keeper, who implored the protection of his captives, and shewed them, through an aperture in the wall, the fails of the Roman fleet. After their feparation from the army, the naval commanders had proceeded with flow caution along the coaft, till they reached the Hermæan promontory, and obtained the first intelligence of the victory of Belifarius. Faithful to his inftructions, they would have cast anchor about twenty miles from Carthage, if the more skilful feamen had not represented the perils of the. shore, and the figns of an impending tempest. Still ignorant of the revolution, they declined, however, the rash attempt of forcing the chain of the port; and the adjacent harbour and fuburb of Mandracium were infulted only by the rapine of a private officer who disobeyed and deferted his leaders. But the Imperial fleet, advancing vancing with a fair wind, steered through the CHAP. narrow entrance of the Goletta, and occupied. in the deep and capacious lake of Tunis a fecure flation about five miles from the capital 19. No fooner was Belifarius informed of their arrival, than he dispatched orders that the greatest part of the mariners should be immediately landed to join the triumph, and to swell the apparent numbers of the Romans. Before he allowed them to enter the gates of Carthage, he exhorted them, in a discourse worthy of himself and the occasion, not to disgrace the glory of their arms; and to remember that the Vandals had been the tyrants, but that they were the deliverers of the Africans, who must now be respected as the voluntary and affectionate subjects of their common fovereign. The Romans marched through the streets in close ranks, prepared for battle if an enemy had appeared; the ftrict order maintained by the general imprinted on their minds the duty of obedience; and in an age in which cuftom and impunity almost fanctified the abuse of conquest, the genius of one man repressed the pasfions of a victorious army. The voice of menace and complaint was filent; the trade of Carthage was not interrupted; while Africa changed her

The neighbourhood of Carthage, the sea, the land, and the rivers, are changed almost as much as the works of man. The ithmus, or neck, of the city is now confounded with the continent; the harbour is a dry plain; and the lake, or stagnum, no more than a moras, with six or seven feet water in the mid-channel. See D'Anville (Geographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 82.), Shaw (Travels, p. 77—84.), Marmol (Description de l'Afrique, tom. ii. p. 465.), and Thuanus (lviii. 12. tom. iii. p. 334.).

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CHAP. master and her government, the shops continued open and bufy; and the foldiers, after fufficient guards had been posted, modestly departed to the houses which were allotted for their reception. Belifarius fixed his refidence in the palace; feated himself on the throne of Genseric; accepted and distributed the Barbaric spoil; granted their lives to the suppliant Vandals; and laboured to repair the damage which the fuburb of Mandracium had fustained in the preceding night. supper he entertained his principal officers with the form and magnificence of a royal banquet20. The victor was respectfully served by the captive officers of the household; and in the moments of festivity, when the impartial spectators applauded the fortune and merit of Belifarius, his envious flatterers fecretly fhed their venom on every word and gesture which might alarm the suspicions of a jealous monarch. One day was given to these pompous scenes, which may not be despised as useless, if they attracted the popular veneration; but the active mind of Belifarius, which in the pride of victory could suppose a defeat, had already refolved, that the Roman empire in Africa should not depend on the chance of arms, or the favour of the people. The fortifications of Carthage had alone been exempted from the general profcription; but in the reign of ninety-five years they were suffered to decay by the thoughtless

²⁰ From Delphi, the name of Delphicum was given, both in Greek and Latin, to a tripod: and, by an easy analogy, the same appellation was extended at Rome, Conftantinople, and Carthage, to the royal banqueting room (Procopius, Vandal. l. i. c. 21. Ducange, Gloss, Grac. * p. 277. Δελφικον, ad Alexiad. p. 412.). and

and indolent Vandals. A wifer conqueror re- CHAP. flored with incredible dispatch the walls and. ditches of the city. His liberality encouraged the workmen: the foldiers, the mariners, and the citizens, vied with each other in the falutary labour; and Gelimer, who had feared to trust his person in an open town, beheld with astonishment and despair the rifing strength of an impregnable fortrefs.

That unfortunate monarch, after the loss of his Final decapital, applied himself to collect the remains of feat of Gelimer an army scattered, rather than destroyed, by the and the preceding battle; and the hopes of pillage at- A.D. 533. tracted fome Moorth bands to the standard of November. Gelimer. He encamped in the fields of Bulla, four days journey from Carthage; infulted the capital, which he deprived of the use of an aqueduct; proposed an high reward for the head of every Roman; affected to spare the persons and property of his African fubjects, and fecretly negotiated with the Arian fecturies and the confederate Huns. Under these circumstances, the conqueft of Sardinia ferved only to aggravate his diffress; he reflected with the deepest anguish, that he had wasted, in that useless enterprise, five thousand of his bravest troops; and he read, with grief and shame, the victorious letters of his brother Zano, who expressed a sanguine confidence that the King, after the example of their anceftors, has already chaftifed the rafhness of the Roman invader. "Alas! my brother," replied Gelimer, "Heaven has declared against our un-"happy nation. While you have fubdued Sar-" dinia.

CHAP. "dinia, we have lost Africa. No sooner did "Belifarius appear with a handful of foldiers, " than courage and profperity deferted the cause " of the Vandals. Your nephew Gibamund, your 66 brother Ammatas, have been betrayed to death "by the cowardice of their followers. Our " horses, our ships, Carthage itself, and all Africa, are in the power of the enemy. " the Vandals still prefer an ignominious repose "at the expence of their wives and children, "their wealth and liberty. Nothing now re-" mains, except the field of Bulla, and the hope of your valour. Abandon Sardinia; fly to our " relief; restore our empire, or perish by our "fide." On the receipt of this epiftle, Zano imparted his grief to the principal Vandals; but the intelligence was prudently concealed from the natives of the island. The troops embarked in one hundred and twenty gallies at the port of Cagliari, cast anchor the third day on the confines of Mauritania, and hastily pursued their march to join the royal standard in the camp of Bulla. Mournful was the interview: the two brothers embraced; they wept in filence; no questions were asked of the Sardinian victory; no inquiries were made of the African misfortunes: they saw before their eyes the whole extent of their calamities; and the absence of their wives and children afforded a melancholy proof, that either death or captivity had been their lot. The languid spirit of the Vandals was at length awakened and united by the entreaties of their King, the example of Zano, and the inflant

danger

danger which threatened their monarchy and re- C H A P. ligion. The military strength of the nation advanced to battle; and fuch was the rapid increase. that, before their army reached Tricameron, about twenty miles from Carthage, they might boaft, perhaps with fome exaggeration, that they furpaffed, in a tenfold proportion, the diminutive powers of the Romans. But these powers were under the command of Belifarius: and, as he was conscious of their superior merit, he permitted the barbarians to furprise him at an unfeafonable hour. The Romans were instantly under arms: a rivulet covered their front; the cavalry formed the first line, which Belisarius fupported in the centre, at the head of five hundred guards; the infantry, at some distance, was posted in the second line; and the vigilance of the general watched the separate station and ambiguous faith of the Maffagetæ, who fecretly referved their aid for the conquerors. The historian has inferted, and the reader may eafily fupply, the speeches 21 of the commanders, who, by arguments the most apposite to their situation, inculcated the importance of victory, and the contempt of life. Zano, with the troops which had followed him to the conquest of Sardinia, was placed in the centre; and the throne of Genferic might have flood, if the multitude of Vandals had imitated their intrepid refolution. Cafting away their lances and miffile weapons, they

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²¹ These orations always express the sense of the times, and sometimes of the actors. I have condensed that sense, and thrown away declaration.

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drew their fwords and expected the charge: the Roman cavalry thrice passed the rivulet; they were thrice repulfed; and the conflict was firmly maintained till Zano fell, and the standard of Belifarius was displayed. Gelimer retreated to his camp: the Huns joined the pursuit; and the victors despoiled the bodies of the flain. Yet no more than fifty Romans, and eight hundred Vandals, were found on the field of battle: fo inconfiderable was the carnage of a day, which extinguished a nation, and transferred the empire of Africa. In the evening Belifarius led his infantry to the attack of the camp; and the pufillanimous flight of Gelimer exposed the vanity of his recent declarations, that, to the vanquished, death was a relief, life a burthen, and infamy the only object of terror. His departure was fecret; but as foon as the Vandals discovered that their King had deferted them, they haftily dispersed, anxious only for their personal safety, and careless of every object that is dear or valuable to mankind. The Romans entered the camp without refiftance; and the wildest scenes of disorder were veiled in the darkness and confusion of the night. Every Barbarian who met their fwords was inhumanly maffacred; their widows and daughters, as rich heirs, or beautiful concubines, were embraced by the licentious foldiers; and avarice itfelf was almost satiated with the treasures of gold and filver, the accumulated fruits of conquest or economy in a long period of prosperity and peace. In this frantic fearch, the troops even of Belifarius forgot their caution and refpect. Intoxicated

toxicated with luft and rapine, they explored in CHAP. small parties, or alone, the adjacent fields, the woods, the rocks, and the caverns, that might possibly conceal any defirable prize: laden with booty, they deferted their ranks, and wandered. without a guide, on the high road to Carthage; and if the flying enemies had dared to return, very few of the conquerors would have escaped. Deeply fenfible of the diffrace and danger, Beli-· farius palled an apprehenfive night on the field of victory; at the dawn of day, he planted his flandard on a hill, recalled his guards and veterans, and gradually reftored the modefty and obedience of the camp. It was equally the concern of the Roman general to subdue the hostile, and to fave the proftrate Barbarian; and the fuppliant Vandals, who could be found only in churches, were protected by his authority, difarmed, and feparately confined, that they might neither diffurb the public peace, nor become the victims of popular revenge. After dispatching a light detachment to tread the footsteps of Gelimer, he advanced with his whole army, about ten days march, as far as Hippo Regius, which no longer possessed the relics of St. Augustin²².

²² The relics of St Augustin were carried by the African bishops to their Sardinian exile (A. D. 500); and it was believed in the viiith century, that Liutprand, King of the Lombards, transported them (A. D. 721) from Sardinia to Pavia. In the year 1695, the Augustan friars of that city found a brick arch, marble cossin, silver case, silk wrapper, bones, blood, &c. and perhaps an inscription of Agostino in Gothic letters. But this useful discovery has been disputed by reason and jealously (Baronius, Annal. A. D. 725. No. 2—9. Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 944. Montfaucon, Diarium Ital. p. 26—30. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. v. dissert. Iviii. p. 9. who had composed a separate

CHAP. The feafon, and the certain intelligence that the Vandal had fled to the inacceffible country of the Moors, determined Belifarius to relinquish the vain pursuit, and to fix his winter-quarters at Carthage. From thence he dispatched his principal lieutenant, to inform the Emperor, that in the space of three months he had atchieved the conquest of Africa.

Conquest of Africa by Belifa-

Belisarius spoke the language of truth. The furviving Vandals yielded, without refiftance, their arms and their freedom: the neighbourhood A.D. 534. of Carthage submitted to his presence; and the more distant provinces were successively subdued by the report of his victory. Tripoli was confirmed in her voluntary allegiance; Sardinia and Corfica furrendered to an officer, who carried, instead of a sword, the head of the valiant Zano; and the ifles of Majorca, Minorca, and Yvica, confented to remain an humble appendage of the African kingdom. Cæfarea, a royal city, which in loofer geopraphy may be confounded with the modern Algiers, was fituate thirty days march to the westward of Carthage: by land, the road was infested by the Moors; but the sea was open, and the Romans were now mafters of the fea. An active and discreet tribune failed as far as the Streights, where he occupied Septem or Ceuta²³,

> a separate treatise before the decree of the bishop of Pavia, and Pope Benedict XIII.).

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²³ Τα της πολιτειας πεοιιμια, is the expression of Procopius (de Edific. 1. vi. c. 7.). Ceuta, which has been defaced by the Portuguele, flourished in nobles and palaces, in agriculture and manufactures, under the more prosperous reign of the Arabs (l'Afrique de Marmol, tom. ilp. 236.). which

which rifes opposite to Gibraltar on the African C H A P. coast; that remote place was afterwards adorned .XLL. and fortified by Justinian; and he seems to have indulged the vain ambition of extending his empire to the columns of Hercules. He received the messengers of victory at the time when he was preparing to publish the pandects of the Roman law; and the devout or jealous Emperor celebrated the divine goodness, and confessed, in filence, the merit of his fuccessful general 24. Impatient to abolish the temporal and spiritual tyranny of the Vandals, he proceeded, without delay, to the full establishment of the Catholic church. Her jurisdiction, wealth, and immunities, perhaps the most effential part of episcopal religion, were reftored and amplified with a liberal hand; the Arian worship was suppressed: the Donatist meetings were proscribed 25; and the fynod of Carthage, by the voice of two hundred and feventeen bishops 26, applauded the just measure of pious retaliation. On such an occasion, it may not be presumed, that many orthodox prelates were abfent; but the comparative smallness of their number, which in ancient

councils

²⁴ See the fecond and third preambles to the Digest, or Pandects, promulgated A. D. 533, December 16. To the titles of *Vandalicus* and *Africanus*, Justinian, or rather Belifarius, had acquired a just claim: Gothicus was premature, and *Francicus* false, and offensive to a great nation.

²⁵ See the original acts in Baronius (A. D. 535, No. 21—544). The Emperor applicates his own elemency to the heretics, cum sufficiat eis vivere.

²⁶ Dupin (Geograph. Sacra Africana, p. lix. ad Optat. Milev.) obferves and bewails this epifcopal decay. In the more profperons age of the church, he had noticed 690 bifhoprics; but however minute were the diocefes, it is not probable that they all existed at the same time.

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CHAP. councils had been twice or eventhrice multiplied, most clearly indicates the decay both of the church While Justinian approved himself the defender of the faith, he entertained an ambitious hope, that his victorious lieutenant would speedily enlarge the narrow limits of his dominion to the fpace which they occupied before the invation of the Moors and Vandals; and Belifarius was inftructed to establish five dukes or commanders in the convenient flations of Tripoli, Leptis, Cirta, Cæfarea, and Sardinia, and to compute the military force of palatines or borders that might be fufficient for the defence of Africa. The kingdom of the Vandals was not unworthy of the presence of a Prætorian præsect; and sour confulars, three prefidents, were appointed to administer the seven provinces under his civil jurisdiction. The number of their subordinate officers, clerks, messengers, or assistants, was minutely expreffed; three hundred and ninety-fix for the præfect himfelf, fifty for each of his vicegerents; and the rigid definition of their fees and falaries was more effectual to confirm the right, than to prevent the abuse. These magistrates might be oppressive, but they were not idle: and the fubtile questions of justice and revenue were infinitely propagated under the new government, which professed to revive the freedom and equity of the The conqueror was folicitous Roman republic. to exact a prompt and plentiful fupply from his African subjects; and he allowed them to claim, even in the third degree, and from the collateral line, the houses and lands of which their families had Commence . .

had been unjustly despoiled by the Vandals. CHAP. After the departure of Belifarius, who acted by an high and special commission, no ordinary provision was made for a master-general of the forces; but the office of Prætorian præfect was intrusted to a foldier; the civil and military powers were united, according to the practice of Justinian, in the chief governor; and the representative of the Emperor in Africa, as well as in Italy, was foon diftinguished by the appellation of Exarch 27.

Yet the conquest of Africa was imperfect, till Distress her former fovereign was delivered, either alive and captior dead, into the hands of the Romans. Doubt- Gelimer, ful of the event, Gelimer had given fecret orders A.D. 534. that a part of his treasure should be transported spring. to Spain, where he hoped to find a fecure refuge at the court of the King of the Vifigoths. these intentions were disappointed by accident, treachery, and the indefatigable pursuit of his enemies, who intercepted his flight from the feashore, and chased the unfortunate monarch, with fome faithful followers, to the inacceffible mountain of Papua28, in the inland country of Numidia. He was immediately befieged by Pharas, an officer whose truth and sobriety were the more applauded, as fuch qualities could feldom be found among the Heruli, the most corrupt of the Bar-

²⁷ The African laws of Justinian are illustrated by his German biographer (Cod. l. i. tit. 27. Novell. 36, 37. 131. Vit. Juftinian, p. 349 377.).

²⁸ Mount Papua is placed by D'Anville (tom. iii. p. 92. and Tabul. Imp. Rom. Occident.) near Hippo Regius and the fea; yet this fituation ill agrees with the long pursuit beyond Hippo, and the words of Procopius (l. ii. c. 4.), sv rois Nepudias saxarois.

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CHAP. barian tribes. To his vigilance Belifarius had entrusted this important charge; and after a bold attempt to scale the mountain, in which he loft an hundred and ten foldiers. Pharas expected, during a winter flege, the operation of diftress and famine on the mind of the Vandal king. From the foftest habits of pleasure, from the unbounded command of industry and wealth, he was reduced to share the poverty of the Moors 20, supportable only to themselves by their ignorance of a happier condition. In their rude hovels, of mud and hurdles, which confined the fmoke and excluded the light, they promiscuously flept on the ground, perhaps on a sheep-skin, with their wives, their children, and their cattle. Sordid and fcanty were their garments; the use of bread and wine was unknown; and their oaten or barley cakes, imperfectly baked in the ashes, were devoured almost in a crude state by the hungry favages. The health of Gelimer must have funk under these strange and unwonted hardships, from whatsoever cause they had been endured; but his actual mifery was embittered by the recollection of past greatness, the daily infolence of his protectors, and the just apprehenfion, that the light and venal Moors might be tempted to betray the rights of hospitality. The knowledge of his fituation dictated the humane

²⁹ Shaw (Travels, p. 220.) most accurately represents the manners of the Bedoweens and Kabyles, the laft of whom, by their language, are the remnant of the Moors: yet how changed-how civilized are these modern favages!--provisions are plenty among them, and bread is com-

and friendly epiftle of Pharas. "Like yourfelf," CHAP. faid the chief of the Heruli, "I am an illiterate. " Barbarian, but I speak the language of plain " fense and an honest heart. Why will you " perfift in hopeless obstinacy? Why will you " ruin yourfelf, your family, and nation? The " love of freedom and abhorrence of flavery? " Alas! my dearest Gelimer, are you not already " the worst of slaves, the slave of the vile nation " of the Moors? Would it not be preferable to " fustain at Constantinople a life of poverty " and fervitude, rather than to reign the un-"doubted monarch of the mountain of Papua? "Do you think it a diffrace to be the subject of Justinian? Belisarius is his subject; and we " ourselves, whose birth is not inferior to your " own, are not ashamed of our obedience to the " Roman Emperor. That generous prince will " grant you a rich inheritance of lands, a place in the fenate, and the dignity of Patrician: "fuch are his gracious intentions, and you may " depend with full affurance on the word of Be-" lifarius. So long as heaven has condemned us " to fuffer, patience is a virtue; but if we reject " the proffered deliverance, it degenerates into " blind and ftupid despair." "I am not insen-" fible," replied the King of the Vandals, " how 46 kind and rational is your advice. But I can-" not perfuade myfelf to become the flave of an " unjust enemy, who has deserved my impla-" cable hatred. Him I had never injured either " by word or deed: yet he has fent against me, "I know not from whence, a certain Belifarius, ee who

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CHAP. " who has cast me headlong from the throne " into this abyss of misery. Justinian is a man; " he is a prince; does he not dread for himself " a fimilar reverse of fortune; I can write no " more: my grief oppresses me. Send me, I " befeech you, my dear Pharas, fend me, a " lyre 30, a spunge, and a loaf of bread." From the Vandal messenger, Pharas was informed of the motives of this fingular request. It was long fince the King of Africa had tafted bread; a defluxion had fallen on his eyes, the effect of fatigue or inceffant weeping; and he wished to folace the melancholy hours by finging to the lyre the fad ftory of his own misfortunes. The humanity of Pharas was moved; he fent the three extraordinary gifts; but even his humanity prompted him to redouble the vigilance of his guard, that he might fooner compel his prisoner to embrace a resolution advantageous to the Romans, but falutary to himself. The obstinacy of Gelimer at length yielded to reason and necessity; the folemn affurances of fafety and honourable treatment were ratified in the Emperor's name, by the ambassador of Belisarius; and the King of the Vandals descended from the mountain. The first public interview was in one of the suburbs of Carthage; and when the royal captive accosted his conqueror, he burst into a fit of laughter. The crowd might naturally believe, that extreme grief

Romanusque lyra tibi plaudat, Barbarus barpa.

³⁰ By Procopius it is ftyled a lyre; perhaps barp would have been more national. The infiruments of music are thus diffinguished by Venantius Fortunatus:

had deprived Gelimer of his fenses; but in this CHAP. mournful state, unseasonable mirth infinuated to more intelligent observers, that the vain and tranfitory scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a ferious thought31.

Their contempt was foon justified by a new Return example of a vulgar truth; that flattery adheres and trito power, and envy to superior merit. The chiefs Belifarius, of the Roman army prefumed to think them. A.D. 534. felves the rivals of an hero. Their private dif- Autumn. patches maliciously affirmed, that the conqueror of Africa, strong in his reputation and the public love, conspired to feat himself on the throne of the Vandals. Justinian listened with too patient an ear; and his filence was the refult of jealoufy rather than of confidence. An honourable alternative, of remaining in the province, or of returning to the capital, was indeed fubmitted to the discretion of Belisarius; but he wisely concluded, from intercepted letters, and the knowledge of his fovereign's temper, that he must either resign his head, erect his standard, or confound his enemies by his prefence and fubmission. Innocence and courage decided his choice: his guards, captives, and treasures, were diligently embarked; and so prosperous was the navigation, that his arrival at Conftantinople preceded any certain account of his departure from the port of Carthage.

³¹ Herodotus elegantly describes the strange effects of grief in another royal captive, Psammetichus of Egypt, who wept at the lesser and was filent at the greatest of his calamities (l. iii. c. 14.). In the interview of Baulus Æmilius and Perfes, Belifarius might study his part: But it is probable that he never read either Livy or Plutarch; and it is certain that his generofity did not need a tutor.

CHAP. unfuspecting loyalty removed the apprehensions of Justinian: envy was filenced and inflamed by the public gratitude: and the third Africanus obtained the honours of a triumph, a ceremony which the city of Constantinople had never seen, and which ancient Rome, fince the reign of Tiberius, had referved for the auspicious arms of the Cæsars 32. From the palace of Belisarius, the procession was conducted through the principal ftreets to the hippodrome; and this memorable day seemed to avenge the injuries of Genseric, and to expiate the shame of the Romans. The wealth of nations was difplayed, the trophies of martial or effeminate luxury; rich armour, golden thrones, and the chariots of state which had been used by the Vandal queen; the massy furniture of the royal banquet, the splendour of precious stones, the elegant forms of statues and vases, the more fubftantial treasure of gold, and the holy veffels of the Jewish temple, which after their long peregrination were refpectfully depofited in the Christian Church of Jerusalem. long train of the noblest Vandals reluctantly exposed their lofty stature and manly countenance. Gelimer flowly advanced: he was clad in a purple robe, and still maintained the majesty of a king. Not a tear escaped from his eyes, not a figh was heard; but his pride or piety derived fome fecret confolation from the words of Solo-

³² After the title of imperator had loft the old military fense, and the Roman auspices were abolished by Christianity (see La Bleterie, Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xxi. p. 302-332.), a triumph might be given with less inconsistency to a private general.

mon 33, which he repeatedly pronounced, VANITY! CHAP. VANITY! ALL IS VANITY! Instead of ascending a triumphal car drawn by four horses or elephants, the modest conqueror marched on foot at the head of his brave companions; his prudence might decline an honour too conspicuous for a fubject: and his magnanimity might juftly difdain what had been fo often fullied by the vileft of tyrants. The glorious procession entered the gate of the hippodrome; was faluted by the acclamations of the fenate and people; and halted before the throne where Justinian and Theodora were feated to receive the homage of the captive monarch and the victorious hero. They both performed the customary adoration; and falling proftrate on the ground, respectfully touched the footftool of a prince who had not unsheathed his fword, and of a profittute who had danced on the theatre: fome gentle violence was used to bend the stubborn spirit of the grandson of Genferic; and however trained to fervitude the genius of Belifarius must have secretly rebelled. He was immediately declared conful for the en- His fole fuing year, and the day of his inauguration re- confulfembled the pomp of a fecond triumph: his cu-fhip, rule chair was borne aloft on the shoulders of January 1. captive Vandals; and the spoils of war, gold

33 If the Ecclefiaftes be truly a work of Solomon, and not, like Prior's poem, a pious and moral composition of more recent times, in his name, and on the subject of his repentance. The latter is the opinion of the learned and free-spirited Grotius (Opp. Theolog. tom. i. p. 258.); and indeed the Ecclefiaftes and Proverbs display a larger compass of thought and experience than feem to belong either to a Jew or a king.

CHAP. cups, and rich girdles, were profusely scattered among the populace.

End of Gelimer and the Vandals.

But the purest reward of Belisarius was in the faithful execution of a treaty for which his honour had been pledged to the King of the Vandals. The religious scruples of Gelimer, who adhered to the Arian herefy, were incompatible with the dignity of fenator or patrician: but he received from the Emperor an ample estate in the province of Galatia, where the abdicated monarch retired with his family and friends, to a life of peace, of affluence, and perhaps of content34. The daughters of Hilderic were entertained with the respectful tenderness due to their age and misfortune; and Justinian and Theodora accepted the honour of educating and enriching the female descendants of the great Theodosius. The bravest of the Vandal youth were distributed into five squadrons of cavalry, which adopted the name of their benefactor, and supported in the Persian wars the glory of their ancestors. But these rare exceptions, the reward of birth or valour; are insufficient to explain the fate of a nation, whose numbers, before a fhortand bloodless war, amounted to more than six After the exile of hundred thousand persons. their king and nobles, the fervile crowd might purchase their safety, by abjuring their character, religion, and language; and their degenerate pofte-

²⁴ In the Belifaire of Marmontel, the King and the conqueror of Africa meet, fup, and converse without recollecting each other. It is furely a fault of that romance, that not only the hero, but all to whom he had been so conspicuously known, appear to have lost their eyes or their memory.

rity would be infenfibly mingled with the common CHAP. herd of African subjects. Yet even in the present age, and in the heart of the Moorish tribes, a curious traveller has discovered the white complexion and long flaxen hair of a northern race 35; and it was formerly believed, that the boldest of the Vandals fled beyond the power, or even the knowledge, of the Romans, to enjoy their folitary freedom on the shores of the Atlantic ocean 30. Africa had been their empire, it became their prison; nor could they entertain an hope, or even a wish, of returning to the banks of the Elbe, where their brethren, of a spirit less adventurous, ftill wandered in their native forests. It was impossible for cowards to surmount the barriers of unknown feas and hoftile barbarians: it was impossible for brave men to expose their nakedness and defeat before the eyes of their countrymen, to describe the kingdoms which they had loft, and to claim a fhare of the humble inheritance, which, in a happier hour, they had almost una-*nimously renounced 37. In the country between the Elbe and the Oder, feveral populous villages

35 Shaw, p. 59. Yet fince Procopius (l. ii. c. 13.) fpeaks of a people of mount Atlas, as already diffinguished by white bodies and yellow hair, the phænomenon (which is likewise visible in the Andes of Peru, Buffon, tom. iii. p. 504.) may naturally be ascribed to the elevation of the ground and the temperature of the air.

³⁶ The geographer of Ravenna (l. iii. c. xi. p. 129, 130, 131. Paris, 1688.) defcribes the Mauritania *Gaditana* (opposite to Cadiz), ubi gens Vandalorum, a Belisario devicta in Africâ, fugit, et nunquam comparait.

37 A fingle voice had protested, and Genseric dismissed, without a formal answer, the Vandals of Germany, but those of Africa derided his prudence, and affected to despite the poverty of their forests (Procopius, Vandal. l. i. 4.22.

CHAP. of Lusatia are inhabited by the Vandals: they ftill preserve their language, their customs, and the purity of their blood; fupport with some impatience, the Saxon, or Pruffian yoke; and ferve with fecret and voluntary allegiance, the descendant of their ancient kings, who in his garb and present fortune is confounded with the meanest of his vaffals 28. The name and fituation of this unhappy people might indicate their descent from one common flock with the conquerors of Africa. But the use of a Sclavonian dialect more clearly represents them as the last remnant of the new colonies, who fucceeded to the genuine Vandals, already fcattered or destroyed in the age of Procopius 39.

Manners and defeat of the Moors.

If Belifarius had been tempted to hesitate in his allegiance, he might have urged, even against the Emperor himself, the indispensable duty of saving A. D. 535. Africa from an enemy more barbarous than the Vandals. The origin of the Moors is involved in darkness; they were ignorant of the use of letters 40. Their limits cannot be precifely defined: a boundless continent was open to the Libyan

> 38 From the mouth of the great elector (in 1687). Tollius describes the fecret royalty and rebellious spirit of the Vandals of Brandenburgh, who could muster five or fix thousand soldiers who had procured some cannon, &c. (Itenerar, Hungar, p. 42. apud Dubos, Hift. de la Monarchie Françoife, tom. i. p. 182, 183.). The veracity, not of the elector, but of Tollius himfelf, may justly be suspected.

> 39 Procopius (l.i. c. 22.) was in total darkness— εδε μνημη τις εδε ουομα ες εμε σωζεται. Under the reign of Dagobert (A. D. 630.), the Sclavonian tribes of the Sorbi and Venedi already bordered on Thuringia (Makou, Hillt. of the Germans, xv. 3, 4, 5.)

> Salluft represents the Moors as a remnant of the army of Heracles (de Bell. Jugurth. c. 21.), and Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 10.) as the posterity of the Cananzans who fled from the robber Joshua (Anons).

Libyan shepherds; the change of seasons and CHAP. pastures regulated their motions; and their rude huts and flender furniture were transported with the same ease as their arms, their families, and their cattle, which confifted of sheep, oxen, and camels 41. During the vigour of the Roman power, they observed a respectful distance from Carthage and the fea-shore; under the feeble reign of the Vandals, they invaded the cities of Numidia, occupied the fea-coast from Tangier to Cæsarea, and pitched their camps, with impunity, in the fertile province of Byzacium. The formidable strength and artful conduct of Belifarius fecured the neutrality of the Moorish princes, whose vanity aspired to receive, in the Emperor's name, the enfigns of their regal dignity 42. They were aftonished by the rapid event, and trembled in the presence of their conqueror. But his approaching departure foon relieved the apprehensions of a savage and superstitious people; the number of their wives allowed them to difregard the fafety of their infant hostages; and when the Roman general hoisted sail in the port of Carthage, he heard the cries, and almost beheld the flames, of the desolated province. Yet

He quotes two columns, with a Phænician inscription. I believe in the columns—I doubt the inscription—and I reject the pedigree.

⁴¹ Virgil (Georgic. iii, 339.) and Pomponius Mela (i. 8.) describe the wandering life of the African shepherds, similar to that of the Arabs and Tartars; and Shaw (p. 222.) is the best commentator on the poet and the geographer.

⁴² The customary gifts were a sceptre, a crown or cap, a white cleak, a sigured tunic and shoes, all adorned with gold and silver; nor were these precious metals less acceptable in the shape of coin (Procop. Vandal. 1. i. c. 25.).

CHAP. he perfifted in his resolution; and leaving only a part of his guards to reinforce the feeble garrisons, he entrusted the command of Africa to the eunuch Solomon 43, who proved himself not unworthy to be the fucceffor of Belifarius. In the first invasion, some detachments, with two officers of merit, were furprized and intercepted; but Solomon speedily assembled his troops, marched from Carthage into the heart of the country, and in two great battles deftroyed fixty thousand of the barbarians. The Moors depended on their multitude, their swiftness, and their inaccessible mountains; and the aspect and smell of their camels are faid to have produced some confusion in the Roman cavalry 44. But as foon as they were commanded to difmount, they derided this contemptible obstacle; as foon as the columns afcended the hills, the naked and diforderly crowd was dazzled by glittering arms and regular evolutions; and the menace of their female prophets was repeatedly fulfilled, that the Moors should be discomfited by a beardless antagonist. The victorious eunuch advanced thirteen days journey

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⁴³ See the African government and warfare of Solomon, in Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 10, 11, 12, 13. 19, 20.). He was recalled, and again restored; and his last victory dates in the xiiith year of Justinian A. D. 539. An accident in his childhood had rendered him an eunuch (l. i. c. 11.): the other Roman generals were amply furnished with beards, πωγονός επιπλαμενοι (l. ii. c. 8.).

⁴⁴ This natural antipathy of the horse for the camel, is affirmed by the ancients (Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 438. l. vii. p. 483. 492. edit. Hutchinson. Polyæn. Stratagem. vii. 6. Plin. Hift. Nat. viii. 26. Ælien de Natur. Animal. l. iii. c. 7.); but it is disproved by daily experience, and derided by the best judges, the Orientals (Voyage D'Olearius, P. 553.).

from Carthage, to beliege mount Auralius 45, CHAP. the citadel, and at the same time the garden of Numidia. The range of hills, a branch of the great Atlas, contains, within a circumference of one hundred and twenty miles, a rare variety of foil and climate; the intermediate vallies and elevated plains abound with rich pastures, perpetual streams, and fruits of a delicious taste and uncommon magnitude. This fair folitude is decorated with the ruins of Lambela, a Roman city, once the feat of a legion, and the refidence of forty thousand inhabitants. The Ionic temple of Æsculapius is encompassed with Moorish huts; and the cattle now graze in the midft of an amphitheatre, under the shade of Corinthian columns. A fharp perpendicular rock rifes above the level of the mountain, where the African princes deposited their wives and treasure; and a proverb is familiar to the Arabs, that the man may eat fire, who dares to attack the craggy clifts and inhospitable natives of mount Aurasius. hardy enterprife was twice attempted by the eunuch Solomon: from the first, he retreated with fome diffrace; and in the fecond, his patience and provisions were almost exhausted; and he must again have retired, if he had not yielded to the impetuous courage of his troops, who audaciously scaled, to the astonishment of the Moors, the mountain, the hostile camp, and the

fummit

⁴⁵ Procopius is the first who describes mount Aurasius (Vandal. l. ii. e. 13. De Edific. l. vi. c. 7.). He may be compared with Leo Africanus (dell Africa, parte v. in Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 77. recto), Marmol (tom. ii. p. 430.), and Shaw (p. 56—59.).

CHAP. fummit of the Geminian rock. A citadel was erected to fecure this important conquest, and to remind the Barbarians of their defeat: and as Solomon purfued his march to the west, the longlost province of Mauritanian Sitisi was again annexed to the Roman empire. The Moorish war continued several years after the departure of Belifarius; but the laurels which he refigned to a faithful lieutenant, may be juftly ascribed to his own triumph.

Neutrality of the Vifigoths.

The experience of past faults, which may some. times correct the mature age of an individual, is feldom profitable to the fuccessive generations of The nations of antiquity, careless of mankind. each other's fafety, were feparately vanquished and enflaved by the Romans. This awful leffon might have inftructed the Barbarians of the West to oppose, with timely counsels and confederate arms, the unbounded ambition of Justinian. Yet the same error was repeated, the same consequences were felt, and the Goths, both of Italy and Spain, insensible of their approaching danger, beheld with indifference, and even with joy, the rapid downfal of the Vandals. After the failure of the royal line, Theudes, a valiant and powerful chief, ascended the throne of Spain, which he had formerly administered in the name of Theodoric and his infant grandfon. Under his command, the Vifigoths befieged the fortress of Ceuta on the African coast: but, while they fpent the fabbath-day in peace and devotion, the pious fecurity of their camp was invaded by a fally from the town; and the king himfelf, with fome

fome difficulty and danger, escaped from the CHAP. hands of a facrilegious enemy 46. It was not long before his pride and refentment were gratified by a suppliant embassy from the unfortunate Gelimer, who implored, in his diffress, the aid of the Spanish monarch. But instead of facrificing these unworthy passions to the dictates of generofity and prudence, Theudes amufed the ambaffadors, till he was fecretly informed of the loss of Carthage, and then dismissed them with obscure and contemptuous advice, to seek in their native country a true knowledge of the state of the Vandals 47. The long continuance Conquests of the Italian war delayed the punishment of the Romans in Vifigoths; and the eyes of Theudes were closed Spain, before they tasted the fruits of his mistaken A.D. policy. After his death, the feeptre of Spain was disputed by a civil war. The weaker candidate folicited the protection of Justinian, and ambitiously subscribed a treaty of alliance, which deeply wounded the independence and happiness of his country. Several cities, both on the ocean and the Mediterranean, were ceded to the Roman troops, who afterwards refused to evacuate those pledges, as it should seem, either of fafety or payment; and as they were fortified by perpetual fupplies from Africa, they maintained their impregnable stations, for the mischievous purpose of inflaming the civil and religious fac-

⁴⁶ Isidor. Chron. p. 722. edit. Grot. Mariana, Hist. Hispan. 1. v. c. 8. p. 173. Yet according to Isidore, the siege of Ceuta, and the death of Theudes, happened, A. Æ. H. 586, A. D. 548,; and the place was defended, not by the Vandals, but by the Romans.

⁴⁷ Procopius, Vandal. I. f. c. 24.

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C. H A P. tions of the Barbarians. Seventy years elapsed before this painful thorn could be extirpated from the bosom of the monarchy; and as long as the emperors retained any share of these remote and useless possessions, their vanity might number Spain in the lift of their provinces, and the fucceffors of Alaric in the rank of their vaffals 48.

Belifarius threatens the Offrogoths of Italy, A.D. 534.

The error of the Goths who reigned in Italy was less excusable than that of their Spanish brethren, and their punishment was still more immediate and terrible. From a motive of private revenge, they enabled their most dangerous enemy to deftroy their most valuable ally. fifter of the great Theodoric had been given in marriage to Thrasimond the African King ": on this occasion, the fortress of Lilybæum 50 in Sicily was refigned to the Vandals: and the Princess Amalafrida was attended by a martial train of one thousand nobles, and five thousand Gothic foldiers, who fignalized their valour in the Moorish wars. Their merit was over rated by themselves, and perhaps neglected by the Wandals: they viewed the country with envy; and the conquerors with disdain; but their real

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⁵ee the original Chronicle of Ifidore, and the with and with books of the Hiftory of Spain by Mariana. The Romans were finally expelled by Suintila King of the Vifigoths (A. D. 621-626.), after their reunion to the Catholic church.

⁴⁸ See the marriage and fate of Amalafrida in Procopius (Vandal, 1.i. c. 8, 9.), and in Caffiodorius (Var. ix. 1.) the expostulation of her royal brother. Compare likewise the Chronicle of Victor Tunnunensis.

⁵ Lilybæum was built by the Carthaginians, Olym. xcv. 4.; and in the first Punic war, a strong situation, an excellent harbour, rendered that place an important object to both nations.

or fictitious conspiracy was prevented by a mas. CHAP. facre: the Goths were oppressed, and the captivity of Amalafrida was foon followed by her fecret and fuspicious death. The eloquent pen of Caffiodorius was employed to reproach the Vandal court with the cruel violation of every focial and public duty; but the vengeance which he threatened in the name of his fowereign, might be derided with impunity, as long as Africa was protected by the lea, and the Goths were destitute of a pavy. In the blind impotence of grief and indignation, they joyfully faluted the approach of the Romans, entertained the fleet of Belifarius in the ports of Sicily, and were speedily delighted or alarmed by the furprifing intelligence, that their revenge was executed beyond the measure of their hopes or perhaps of their wishes. To their friendship the Emperor was indebted for the kingdom of Africa, and the Goths might reasonably think, that they were entitled to refume the possession of a barren rock, fo recently separated as a nuptial gift from the island of Sicily. They were foon undeceived by the haughty mandate of Belifarius, which excited their tardy and unavailing repentance. "city and promontory of Lilybæum," faid the Roman general, " belonged to the Vandals, and "I claim them by the right of conquest. Your " fubmission may deserve the favour of the Em " peror; your obstinacy will provoke his displea-" fure, and must kindle a war, that can terminate " only in your utter ruin. If you compel us to " take up arms, we shall contend, not to regain "the

CHAP. " the possession of a single city, but to deprive 4 you of all the provinces which you unjustly " withhold from their lawful fovereign." A nation of two hundred thousand foldiers might have fmiled at the vain menace of Justinian and his lieutenant: but a spirit of discord and disaffection prevailed in Italy, and the Goths supported, with reluctance, the indignity of a female reignst.

Government and death of Amalafontha, Queen of Italy. A.D. 522-534-

The birth of Amalasontha, the regent and Queen of Italy 52, united the two most illustrious families of the Barbarians. Her mother, the fifter of Clovis, was descended from the long-haired kings of the Merovingian race 53; and the regal fuccession of the Andiwas illustrated in the eleventh generation, by her father, the great Theodoric, whose ment might have ennobled a plebeian origin. The fex of his daughter excluded her from the Gothic throne; but his vigilant tenderness for his family and his people discovered the last heir of the royal line, whose ancestors had taken refuge in Spain; and the fortunate Eutharic was fuddenly exalted to the rank of a conful and a prince. He enjoyed only a short time the charms of Amalasontha, and the hopes of the fuccession; and his widow, after the death

⁵¹ Compare the different passages of Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 5. Gothic. 1. i. c. 3.).

^{5.} For the reign and character of Amalafontha, see Procopius (Gothic. 1. i. c. 2, 3, 4. and Anecdot. c. 16. with the Notes of Alemannus), Caffiodorius (Var. viii. ix. x. and xi. 1.), and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis. c. 59. and De Succeffione Regnorum, in Muratori, tom. i. p. 241.).

⁵³ The marriage of Theodoric with Auderleda, the fifter of Clovis, may be placed in the year 495, foon after the conquest of Italy (de Buat. Hift. def. Peuples, tom. ix. p. 213.). The nuptials of Eutharic and Amalafontha were celebrated in 515 (Caffiodor. in Chron. p. 453.).

of her husband and father was left the guardian C HAP. of her fon Athalaric, and the kingdom of Italy. At the age of about twenty-eight years, the endowments of her mind and person had attained their perfect maturity. Her beauty, which, in the apprehension of Theodora herself, might have difputed the conquest of an emperor, was animated by manly fenfe, activity, and refolution. Education and experience had cultivated her talents: her philosophic studies were exempt from vanity: and, though fhe expressed herself with equal elegance and eafe in the Greek, the Latin, and the Gothic tongue, the daughter of Theodoric maintained in her counsels a discreet and impenetrable filence. By a faithful imitation of the virtues the revived the prosperity of his reign: while she strove, with pious care, to expiate the faults, and to obliterate the darker memory of his declining age. The children of Boethius and Symmachus were restored to their paternal inheritance: her extreme lenity never confented to inflict any corporal or pecuniary penalties on her Roman subjects; and she generously defpifed the clamours of the Goths, who, at the end of forty years, ftill confidered the people of Italy as their flaves or their enemies. Her falutary measures were directed by the wisdom, and celebrated by the eloquence, of Cassiodorius; she solicited and deserved the friendship of the Emperor; and the kingdoms of Europe respected, both in peace and war, the majesty of the Gothic throne. But the future happiness of the Queen and of Italy depended on the education of her for, who

CHAP. who was destined, by his birth, to support the different and almost incompatible characters of the chief of a Barbarian camp, and the first magistrate of a civilized nation. From the age of ten years 54, Athalaric was diligently inftructed in the arts and sciences, either useful or ornamental for a Roman prince: and three venerable Goths were chosen to instil the principles of honour and virtue into the mind of their young king. But the pupil who is infenfible of the benefits, must abhor the reftraints, of education; and the folicitude of the Queen, which affection rendered anxious and fevere, offended the untractable nature of her fon and his fubjects. On a folemn festival, when the Goths were assembled in the palace of Ravenna, the royal youth escaped from his mother's apartment, and, with tears of pride and anger, complained of a blow which his ftubborn disobedience had provoked her to inflict. The Barbarians refented the indignity which had been offered to their king; accused the regent of conspiring against his life and crown; and imperiously demanded that the grandson of Theodoric should be rescued from the dastardly discipline of women and pedants, and educated, like a valiant Goth, in the fociety of his equals, and the glorious ignorance of his anceftors. To this rude clamour, importunately urged as the voice of the nation, Amalasontha was compelled to yield her reason, and the

⁵⁴ At the death of Theodoric, his grandfon Athalaric is described by Procopius as a boy about eight years old - ONTW YEYOVWS ETN. Caffiodorius, with authority and reason, adds two years to his age - infantulum adhuc vix decennem. dearest

dearest wishes of her heart. The King of Italy CHAP. was abandoned to wine, to women, and to ruftic fports; and the indifcreet contempt of the ungrateful youth, betrayed the mischievous designs of his favourites and her enemies. Encompassed with domestic foes, she entered into a fecret negotiation with the Emperor Justinian; obtained the affurance of a friendly reception, and had actually deposited at Dyrachium in Epirus, a treasure of forty thousand pounds of gold. Happy would it have been for her fame and fafety, if she had calmly retired from barbarous faction, to the peace and splendour of Constantinople. But the mind of Amalafontha was inflamed by ambition and revenge; and while her flips lay at anchor in the port, she waited for the success of a crime which her paffions excufed or applauded as an act of justice. Three of the most dangerous malecontents had been feparately removed, under the pretence of trust and command, to the frontiers of Italy: they were affaffinated by her private emiffaries; and the blood of these noble Goths rendered the Queen-mother absolute in the court of Ravenna, and justly odious to a free people. But if she had lamented the disorders of her son, fhe foon wept his irreparable lofs; and the death of Athalaric, who, at the age of fixteen, was confumed by premature intemperance, left her deftitute of any firm support or legal authority. Instead of submitting to the laws of her country, which held as a fundamental maxim, that the fuccession could never pass from the lance to the diftaff, the daughter of Theodoric conceived the imprac-VOL. VII.

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CHAP. impracticable defign of sharing, with one of her cousins, the regal title, and of referving in her own hands the fubftance of fupreme power. He received the proposal with profound respect and affected gratitude; and the eloquent Caffiodorius announced to the fenate and the Emperor, that Amalasontha and Theodatus had ascended the throne of Italy. His birth (for his mother was the fifter of Theodoric) might be confidered as an imperfect title; and the choice of Amalasontha was more strongly directed by her contempt of his avarice and pufillanimity, which had deprived him of the love of the Italians, and the esteem of the barbarians. But Theodatus was exasperated by the contempt which he deferved: her justice had repressed and reproached the oppression which he exercifed against his Tuscan neighbours; and the principal Goths, united by common guilt and refentment, conspired to instigate his slow and timid disposition. The letters of congratulation were fcarcely dispatched before the Queen of Italy was imprisoned in a small island of the lake of Bolsena 55, where, after a short confinement, she was strangled in the bath, by the order, or with the connivance, of the new King, who instructed his turbulent subjects to shed the blood of their fovereigns.

Her exile and death, A. D. 535. April 30.

> 55 The lake, from the neighbouring towns of Etruria, was flyled either Vulfinienfis (now of Bolfena) or Tarquinienfis. It is furrounded with white rocks, and flored with fish and wild-fowl. The younger Pliny (Epift. ii. 96.) celebrates two woody islands that floated on its waters: if a fable, how credulous the ancients! - if a fact, how careless the moderns! Yet fince Pliny, the island may have been fixed by new and gradual fuccessions.

Justinian

Justinian beheld with joy the diffensions of the CHAP. Goths; and the mediation of an ally concealed. and promoted the ambitious views of the conque- Belifarius ror. His ambaffadors, in their public audience, invades and fubdemanded the fortress of Lilybæum, ten barba- dues Sicily, rian fugitives, and a just compensation for the A.D. 535. pillage of a small town on the Illyrian borders; but they fecretly negotiated with Theodatus to betray the province of Tufcany, and tempted Amalafontha to extricate herfelf from danger and perplexity, by a free furrender of the kingdom of Italy. A false and servile epistle was subscribed by the reluctant hand of the captive Queen: but the confession of the Roman senators, who were fent to Conftantinople, revealed the truth of her deplorable fituation; and Justinian, by the voice of a new ambaffador, most powerfully interceded for her life and liberty. Yet the fecret inftructions of the same minister were adapted to serve the cruel jealoufy of Theodora, who dreaded the presence and superior charms of a rival: he prompted, with artful and ambiguous hints, the execution of a crime fo useful to the Romans 56; received the intelligence of her death with grief and indignation, and denounced, in his mafter's name, immortal war against the perfidious affassin. In Italy, as well as in Africa, the guilt of an usurper appeared to justify the arms of Justinian; but the forces which he prepared, were infufficient

⁵⁶ Yet Procopius difcredits his own evidence (Anecdot. c. 16.), by confessing that in his public history he had not spoken the truth. See the Epiftles from Queen Gundelina to the Empress Theodora (Var. x. 20, 21. 23. and observe a suspicious word, de illa persona, &c.) with the clahorate Commentary of Buat (tom. x. p. 177-185.).

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for the subversion of a mighty kingdom, if their feeble numbers had not been multiplied by the name, the spirit, and the conduct of an hero. A chosen troop of guards, who served on horseback, and were armed with lances and bucklers, attended the person of Belifarius: his cavalry was composed of two hundred Huns, three hundred Moors, and four thousand confederates, and the infantry confifted only of three thousand Steering the same course as in his Ifaurians. former expedition, the Roman conful caft anchor before Catana in Sicily, to furvey the ftrength of the island, and to decide whether he should attempt the conquest, or peaceably pursue his vovage for the African coast. He found a fruitful land and a friendly people. Notwithstanding the decay of agriculture, Sicily still supplied the granaries of Rome; the farmers were graciously exempted from the oppression of military quarters; and the Goths, who trusted the defence of the island to the inhabitants, had some reason to complain, that their confidence was ungratefully betrayed: Instead of soliciting and expecting the aid of the King of Italy, they yielded to the first fummons a cheerful obedience: and this province. the first fruits of the Punic wars, was again, after a long separation, united to the Roman empire⁵⁷. The Gothic garrison of Palermo, which alone attempted to refift, was reduced, after a short siege, by a fingular stratagem. Belifarius introduced his

⁵⁷ For the conquest of Sicily, compare the narrative of Procopius with the complaints of Totila (Gothic, I. i. c. 5, I. iii. c. 16.). The Gothic Queen had lately relieved that thankless island (Var. ix. 10, 11.).

ships into the deepest recess of the harbour; CHAP. their boats were laboriously hoisted with ropes, and pullies to the top-maft head, and he filled them with archers, who, from that superior flation, commanded the ramparts of the city. After this eafy, though fuccessful campaign, the conqueror entered Syracuse in triumph, at the head of his victorious bands, distributing gold medals to the people, on the day which fo glorioufly terminated the year of the confulfhip. He passed the winter-season in the palace of ancient kings amidst the ruins of a Grecian colony, which once extended to a circumference of two and twenty miles 58: but in the spring, about the festival of Easter, the profecution of his designs was interrupted by a dangerous revolt of the African forces. Carthage was faved by the prefence of Belifarius, who fuddenly landed with a thousand guards. Two thousand foldiers of doubtful faith returned to the standard of their old commander: and he marched, without hefitation, above fifty miles, to feek an enemy, whom he affected to pity and despife. Eight thousand rebels trembled at his approach; they were routed at the first onset, by the dexterity of their mafter: and this ignoble victory would have restored the peace of Africa, if the conqueror had not been haftily recalled to Sicily, to appeale a fedition which was kindled during

⁵⁸ The ancient magnitude and splendour of the sive quarters of Syracuse, are delineated by Cicero (in Verrem, actio ii. 1. iv. c. 52, 53.), Strabo (l. vi. p. 415.), and D'Orville Sicula (tom. n. p. 174—202.). The new city restored by Augustus, shrunk towards the island.

CHAP. his absence in his own camp 50. Disorder and disobedience were the common malady of the times: the genius to command, and the virtue to obey, refided only in the mind of Belifarius.

Reign and weakness of Theodatus, the Gothic King of Italy, A.D. 534. October-August.

Although Theodatus descended from a race of heroes, he was ignorant of the art, and averse to the dangers, of war. Although he had fludied the writings of Plato and Tully, philosophy was incapable of purifying his mind from the basest passions, avarice and fear. He had purchased a A.D. 536. fceptre by ingratitude and murder: at the first menace of an enemy, he degraded his own majefty, and that of a nation, which already difdained their unworthy fovereign. Aftonished by the recent example of Gelimer, he faw himfelf dragged in chains through the streets of Conflantinople: the terrors which Belifarius inspired, were heightened by the eloquence of Peter, the Byzantine ambaffador; and that bold and fubtle advocate perfuaded him to fign a treaty, too ignominious to become the foundation of a lasting peace. It was stipulated, that in the acclamations of the Roman people, the name of the Emperor fhould be always proclaimed before that of the Gothic King; and that as often as the statue of Theodatus was erected in brass or marble, the divine image of Justinian should be placed on its right hand. Instead of conferring, the King of Italy was reduced to folicit, the

16

⁵⁹ Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 14, 15.) fo clearly relates the return of Belifarius into Sicily, p. 146. edit. Hoeschelii), that I am astonished at the strange misapprehension and reproaches of a learned critic (Oeuvres de la Mothe le Vayer, tom. viii. p. 162, 163.).

honours of the fenate; and the confent of the CHAP. Emperor was made indispensable before he could execute, against a priest or senator, the sentence either of death or confiscation. The feeble monarch refigned the possession of Sicily; offered, as the annual mark of his dependence, a crown of gold, of the weight of three hundred pounds; and promifed to supply, at the requisition of his fovereign, three thousand Gothic auxiliaries for the fervice of the Empire. Satisfied with these extraordinary concessions, the successful agent of Justinian hastened his journey to Constantinople; but no fooner had he reached the Alban villa 60, than he was recalled by the anxiety of Theodatus; and the dialogue which paffed between the King and the ambaffador deferves to be represented in its original simplicity. "Are " you of opinion that the Emperor will ra-"tify this treaty? Perhaps. If he refuses, " what confequence will enfue? War. Will " fuch a war be just or reasonable? Most as-" furedly: every one should act according to his " character. What is your meaning? You are " a philosopher—Justinian is Emperor of the Ro-" mans: it would ill become the disciple of Plato " to shed the blood of thousands in his private " quarrel: the successor of Augustus Should vin-" dicate his rights, and recover by arms the an-" cient provinces of his empire." This reason-

⁶⁰ The ancient Alba was ruined in the first age of Rome. On the fame fpot, or at least in the neighbourhood, successively arose, I. The villa of Pompey, &c. 2. A camp of the Prætorian cohorts. 3. The modern episcopal city of Albanum or Albano (Procop. Goth. 1. ii. c. 4. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 914.).

CHAP. ing might not convince, but it was sufficient to XLL , alarm and fubdue the weakness of Theodatus; and he foon descended to his last offer, that for the poor equivalent of a penfion of forty-eight thousand pounds sterling, he would refign the kingdom of the Goths and Italians, and fpend the remainder of his days in the innocent pleafures of philosophy and agriculture. Both treaties were entrusted to the hands of the ambassador, on the frail fecurity of an oath not to produce the fecond till the first had been positively reiected. The event may be eafily foreseen: Justinian required and accepted the abdication of the Gothic King. His indefatigable agent returned from Constantinople to Ravenna, with ample instructions; and a fair epistle, which praised the wisdom and generosity of the royal philosopher, granted his pension, with the affurance of fuch honours, as a fubject and a catholic might enjoy; and wifely referred the final execution of the treaty, to the presence and authority of Belisarius. But in the interval of suspense, two Roman generals, who had entered the province of Dalmatia, were defeated and flain by the Gothic troops. From blind and abject despair, Theodatus capriciously rose to groundless and fatal presumption and dared to receive, with menace and contempt, the ambaffador of Justinian; who claimed his promise,

folicited

⁶¹ A Sibylline oracle was ready to pronounce—Africa capta mundus cum nato peribit; a sentence of portentous ambiguity (Gothic. l.i. c. 7.), which has been published in unknown characters by Opsopæus, an editor of the oracles. The Pere Maltret has promifed a commentary; but all his promifes have been vain and fruitless.

folicited the allegiance of his fubjects, and boldly CHAP. afferted the inviolable privilege of his own cha-The march of Belifarius dispelled this visionary pride; and as the first campaign 62 was employed in the reduction of Sicily, the invalion of Italy is applied by Procopius to the fecond year of the Gothic war 63.

After Belifarius had left fufficient garrifons in Belifarius Palermo and Syracuse, he embarked his troops at Messina, and landed them, without resistance, reduces on the opposite shores of Rhegium. A Gothic A.D. 537. prince, who had married the daughter of Theodatus, was flationed with an army to guard the entrance of Italy; but he imitated, without fcruple, the example of a fovereign, faithless to his public and private duties. The perfidious Ebermor deferted with his followers to the Roman camp, and was dismissed to enjoy the servile honours of the Byzantine court64. From Rhegium to Naples, the fleet and army of Belifarius, almost always in view of each other, advanced near three hundred miles along the fea-coaft. The people of Bruttium, Lucania, and Campania, who

⁶² In his chronology imitated in some degree from Thucydides, Procopius begins each fpring the years of Justinian and of the Gothic war; and his first æra coincides with the first of April 535, and not 536, according to the Annals of Baronius (Pagi Crit. tom. ii. p. 555. who is followed by Muratori and the editors of Sigonius). Yet in some pasfages we are at a loss to reconcile the dates of Procopius with himself. and with the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

⁶³ The feries of the first Gothic war is represented by Procopius (1. i. c. 5-29. l. ii. c. 1-30. l. iii. c. 1.) till the captivity of Vitiges. With the aid of Sigonius (Opp. tom. i. de Imp. Occident. l. xvii. xviii.) and Muratori (Annali D'Italia, tom. v.), I have gleaned some few additional facts.

⁶⁴ Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 60. p. 702. edit. Grot. and tom. i. p. 221. Muratori, de Success. Regn. p. 241.

XLI.

CHAP. abhorred the name and religion of the Goths, embraced the specious excuse, that their ruined walls were incapable of defence; the foldiers paid a just equivalent for a plentiful market; and curiofity alone interrupted the peaceful occupations of the husbandman or artificer. Naples, which has fwelled to a great and populous capital, long cherished the language and manners of a Grecian colony 65; and the choice of Virgil had ennobled this elegant retreat, which attracted the lovers of repose and study, from the noise, the finoke, and the laborious opulence of Rome65. As foon as the place was invefted by fea and land, Belifarius gave audience to the deputies of the people, who exhorted him to difregard a conquest unworthy of his arms, to feek the Gothic King in a field of battle, and, after his victory, to claim, as the fovereign of Rome, the allegiance of the dependent cities. "When I treat with "my enemies," replied the Roman chief, with an haughty fmile, " I am more accustomed to " give than to receive counsel: but I hold in one " hand inevitable ruin, and, in the other, peace "and freedom, fuch as Sicily now enjoys." The impatience of delay urged him to grant the most

liberal

⁶⁵ Nero (fays Tacitus, Annal. xv. 35.) Neapolim quafi Græcam urbem delegit. One hundred and fifty years afterwards, in the time of Septimius Severus, the Hellenism of the Neapolitans is praised by Philostratus: γενος Ελληνες και αςυκοι, οθεν και τας σπεβας των λογων Ελληνικοι εισι (Icon. l. i. p. 763. edit. Olear.).

⁶⁶ The otium of Naples is praifed by the Roman poets, by Virgil, Horace, Silius Italicus, and Statius (Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. iv. p. 1149, II50.). In an elegant epiftle (Sylv. l. iii. 5. p. 94 - 98. edit. Markland), Statius undertakes the difficult talk of drawing his wife from the pleafures of Rome to that calm retreat.

liberal terms; his honour fecured their perform- CHAP. ance: but Naples was divided into two factions: and the Greek democracy was inflamed by their orators, who, with much spirit and some truth, represented to the multitude, that the Goths would punish their defection, and that Belisarius himself must esteem their loyalty and valour. Their deliberations, however, were not perfectly free: the city was commanded by eight hundred barbarians, whose wives and children were detained at Ravenna as the pledge of their fidelity; and even the Jews, who were rich and numerous, refifted, with desperate enthusiasm, the intolerant laws of Justinian. In a much later period, the circumference of Naples⁶⁷ measured only two thousand three hundred and fixty-three paces 65: the fortifications were defended, by precipices or the fea; when the aqueducts were intercepted, a supply of water might be drawn from wells and fountains; and the flock of provisions was fufficient to confume the patience of the befiegers. At the end of twenty days, that of Belifarius was almost exhausted, and he had reconciled himself to the disgrace of abandoning the fiege, that he might march, before the winter feafon, against Rome and the Gothic King. But

6 Not geometrical, but common, paces or steps, of 22 French inches (D'Anville, Mesures Itineraires, p. 7, 8.): the 2363 do not make an English mile.

^{67.} This measure was taken by Roger I. after the conquest of Naples (A. D. 1139), which he made the capital of his new kingdom (Giannone, Istoria Civile, tom. ii. p. 169.). That city, the third in Christian Europe, is now at least twelve miles in circumference (Jul. Cæsar Capaccii Hist. Neapol. l.i. p. 47.) and contains more inhabitants (350,000) in a given space, than any other spot in the known world.

CHAP. his anxiety was relieved by the bold curiofity of an Isaurian, who explored the dry channel of an aqueduct, and fecretly reported, that a paffage might be perforated to introduce a file of armed foldiers into the heart of the city. When the work had been filently executed, the humane general rifked the discovery of his fecret, by a last and fruitless admonition of the impending danger. In the darkness of the night, four hundred Romans entered the aqueduct, raifed themselves by a rope, which they fastened to an olive tree, into the house or garden of a solitary matron, founded their trumpets, furprised the centinels, and gave admittance to their companions, who on all fides scaled the walls, and burst open the gates of the city. Every crime which is punished by focial justice, was practifed as the rights of war; the Huns were diffinguished by cruelty and facrilege, and Belifarius alone appeared in the streets and churches of Naples, to moderate the calamities which he predicted. "The gold "and filver," he repeatedly exclaimed, "are the "just rewards of your valour. But spare the in-" habitants, they are Christians, they are suppli-" ants, they are now your fellow-subjects. Re-" ftore the children to their parents, the wives " to their husbands; and shew them by your ge-" nerofity, of what friends they have obstinately "deprived themselves." The city was saved by the virtue and authority of its conqueror o,

⁶⁹ Belifarius was reproved by Pope Silverius for the massacre. He repeopled Naples, and imported colonies of African captives into Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia (Hift. Miscell. l. xvi. in Muratori, tom. i. p. 106, 107.).

and when the Neapolitans returned to their CHAP. houses, they found some consolation in the secret enjoyment of their hidden treasures. The barbarian garrifon enlifted in the fervice of the Emperor; Apulia and Calabria, delivered from the odious presence of the Goths, acknowledged his dominion; and the tufks of the Calydonian boar, which were still shewn at Beneventum, are curiously described by the historian of Belifarius 70.

The faithful foldiers and citizens of Naples had Vitiges, expected their deliverance from a prince, who King remained the inactive and almost indifferent spec- A.D. 536. tator of their ruin. Theodatus fecured his person August within the walls of Rome, while his cavalry advanced forty miles on the Appian way, and encamped in the Pomptine marshes; which, by a canal of nineteen miles in length, had been recently drained and converted into excellent. pastures?'. But the principal forces of the Goths were dispersed in Dalmatia, Venetia, and Gaul; and the feeble mind of their King was confounded by the unfuccessful event of a divination, which feemed to prefage the downfall of his em-

⁷⁰ Beneventum was built by Diomede, the nephew of Meleager (Cluver. tom. ii. p. 1195, 1196.). The Calydonian hunt is a picture of favage life (Ovid, Metamorph. I. viii.). Thirty or forty heroes were leagued against a hog: the brutes (not the hog) quarrelled with a lady for the head.

⁷¹ The Decennovium is strangely confounded by Cluvierius (tom. ii. p. 1007.) with the river Usens. It was in truth a canal of nineteen miles, from Forum Appii to Terracina, on which Horace embarked in the night. The Decennovium which is mentioned by Lucan, Dion Caffius, and Caffiodorius, has been fufficiently ruined, restored, and obliterated (D'Anville, Analyse de l'Italie, p. 185, &c.).

XLI.

CHAP. pire 72. The most abject slaves have arraigned the guilt or weakness of an unfortunate master. The character of Theodatus was rigoroufly scrutinized by a free and idle camp of barbarians, concious of their privilege and power: he was declared unworthy of his race, his nation, and his throne; and their general Vitiges, whose valour had been fignalized in the Illyrian war, was raifed with unanimous applause on the bucklers of his companions. On the first rumour, the abdicated monarch fled from the justice of his country; but he was purfued by private revenge. Goth whom he had injured in his love, overtook Theodatus on the Flaminian way, and, regardless of his unmanly cries, flaughtered him, as he lay proftrate on the ground, like a victim (fays the historian) at the foot of the altar. The choice of the people is the best and purest title to reign over them: yet fuch is the prejudice of every age, that Vitiges impatiently wished to return to Ravenna, where he might feize, with the reluctant hand of the daughter of Amalasontha, some faint shadow of hereditary right. A national council was immediately held, and the new monarch reconciled the impatient spirit of the barbarians, to a measure of disgrace, which the misconduct of his predecessor rendered wife and indifpensable. The Goths confented to retreat

⁷² A Jew gratified his contempt and hatred for all the Christians, by inclosing three bands, each of ten hogs, and discriminated by the names of Goths, Greeks, and Romans. Of the first, almost all were found dead-almost all the second were alive-of the third, half died, and the rest lost their briftles. No unsuitable emblem of the event.

in the presence of a victorious enemy; to delay CHAP. till the next fpring the operations of offensive war; to fummon their scattered forces; to relinquish their distant possessions, and to trust even Rome itself to the faith of its inhabitants. Leuderis, an aged warrior, was left in the capital with four thousand foldiers; a feeble garrison, which might have feconded the zeal, though it was incapable of opposing the wishes, of the Romans. But a momentary enthusiasm of religion and patriotism was kindled in their minds. They furiously exclaimed, that the apostolic throne should no longer be profaned by the triumph or toleration of Arianism; that the tombs of the Cæfars should no longer be trampled by the favages of the north; and, without reflecting, that Italy must fink into a province of Constantinople, they fondly hailed the refloration of a Roman emperor as a new æra of freedom and prosperity. The deputies of the pope and clergy, of the fenate and people, invited the lieutenant of Justinian to accept their voluntary allegiance, and to enter the city, whose gates would be thrown open for his reception. As foon as Belifarius had fortified his new conquests, Naples and Cumæ, he advanced about twenty miles to the banks of the Vulturnus, contemplated the decayed grandeur of Capua, and halted at the feparation of the Latin and Appian ways. work of the cenfor, after the inceffant use of nine centuries, still preserved its primæval beauty, and not a flaw could be discovered in the large polished stones, of which that folid, though nar-

Relifarius enters Rome. A. D. 536. Dec. 10.

CHAP. row road, was fo firmly compacted 13. Belifarius, however, preferred the Latin way, which, at a distance from the sea and marshes, skirted in a fpace of one hundred and twenty miles along the foot of the mountains. His enemies had difanpeared: when he made his entrance through the Afinarian gate, the garrifon departed without moleftation along the Flaminian way; and the city, after fixty years fervitude, was delivered from the yoke of the barbarians. Leuderis alone. from a motive of pride or discontent, refused to accompany the fugitives; and the Gothic chief, himself a trophy of the victory, was sent with the keys of Rome to the throne of the Emperor Justinian 74.

Siege of Rome by the Goths. A. D. 537. March.

The first days, which coincided with the old Saturnalia, were devoted to mutual congratulation and the public joy; and the Catholics prepared to celebrate, without a rival, the approaching festival of the nativity of Christ. In the familiar conversation of an hero, the Romans acquired fome notion of the virtues which history ascribed to their ancestors; they were edified by the apparent respect of Belisarius for the successor

73 Bergier (Hift. des Grands Chemins des Romains, tom. i. p. 221-228. 440-444.) examines the structure and materials, while D'Anville (Analyse D'Italie, p. 200-213.) defines the geographical line.

⁷⁴ Of the first recovery of Rome, the year (536) is certain, from the feries of events, rather than from the corrupt, or interpolated, text of Procopius: the month (December) is afcertained by Evagrius (l. iv. c. 19.); and the day (the tenth) may be admitted on the slight evidence of Nicephorus Callifthus (l. xvii. c. 13.). For this accurate chronology, we are indebted to the diligence and judgment of Pagi (tom. ii. p. 559, 560.).

of St. Peter, and his rigid discipline secured in CHAP the midst of war the bleffings of tranquillity and justice. They applauded the rapid success of his arms, which overran the adjacent country, as far as Narni, Perufia, and Spoleto; but they trembled, the fenate, the clergy, and the unwarlike people, as foon as they understood, that he had refolved, and would fpeedily be reduced, to fuftain a fiege against the powers of the Gothic monarchy. The defigns of Vitiges were executed, during the winter feafon, with diligence and From their ruftic habitations, from their diffant garrifons, the Goths affembled at Ravenna for the defence of their country; and fuch were their numbers, that after an army had been detached for the relief of Dalmatia, one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men marched under the royal standard. According to the degrees of rank or merit, the Gothic King diffributed arms and horses, rich gifts, and liberal promises: he moved along the Flaminian way, declined the useless sieges of Perusia and Spoleto, respected the impregnable rock of Narni, and arrived within two miles of Rome at the foot of the Milvian bridge. The narrow passage was fortified with a tower, and Belifarius had computed the value of the twenty days, which must be lost in the construction of another bridge. But the confternation of the foldiers of the tower, who either fled or deferted, disappointed his hopes and betrayed his person into the most imminent danger. At the head of one thousand horse, the Roman general fallied from the Flaminian gate to mark the VOL. VII. ground

CHAP. ground of an advantageous position, and to survey the camp of the barbarians; but while he still believed them on the other fide of the Tyber, he was fuddenly encompassed and assaulted by their innumerable fquadrons. The fate of Italy depended on his life; and the deferters pointed to the conspicuous horse, a bay75, with a white face, which he rode on that memorable day. "Aim "at the bay horse," was the universal cry. Every bow was bent, every javelin was directed, against that fatal object, and the command was repeated and obeyed by thousands who were ignorant of its real motive. The bolder Barbarians advanced to the more honourable combat of fwords and fpears; and the praife of an enemy has graced the fall of Vifandus, the standardbearer76, who maintained his foremost station. till he was pierced with thirteen wounds, perhaps by the hand of Belifarius himfelf. The Roman general was strong, active, and dextrous: on every fide he discharged his weighty and mortal ftrokes: his faithful guards imitated his valour, and defended his person; and the Goths, after the loss of a thousand men, fled before the arms of an hero. They were rashly pursued to their camp: and the Romans oppressed by mul-

76 I interpret βανδαλαριος, not as a proper name, but an office, flandardbearer, from bandum (vexillum), a Barbaric word adopted by the Greeks and Romans (Paul Diacon. l.i. c. 20. p. 760. Grot. Nomina Gothica, p. 575. Ducange, Gloff. Latin. tom. i. p. 539, 540.).

⁷⁵ An horse of a bay or red colour was styled Φαλιος by the Greeks, balan by the Barbarians, and spadix by the Romans. Honesti spadices, says Virgil (Georgic. l. iii. 72. with the Observations of Martin and Heyne). Σπαλίξ οr βαιον, signifies a branch of the palm-tree, whose name, φοινίξ, is synonymous to red (Aulus Gellius, ii. 26.).

pitate retreat to the gates of the city: the gates were thut against the fugitives; and the public terror was increased, by the report, that Belisarius was flain. His countenance was indeed disfigured by fweat, duft, and blood; his voice was hoarfe, his strength was almost exhausted; but his unconquerable spirit still remained; he imparted that spirit to his desponding companions; and their last desperate charge was felt by the flying Barbarians, as if a new army, vigorous and entire, had been poured from the city. The Fla- Valour of minian gate was thrown open to a real triumph; but it was not before Belifarius had vifited every post, and provided for the public fafety, that he could be perfuaded by his wife and friends, to tafte the needful refreshments of food and sleep. In the more improved flate of the art of war, a general is feldom required or even permitted to

titudes, made a gradual, and at length a preci- CHAP.

After this first and unsuccessful trial of their His deenemies, the whole army of the Goths passed the fence of Tyber, and formed the fiege of the city, which continued above a year, till their final departure. Whatever fancy may conceive, the fevere compass of the geographer define the circumference of Rome within a line of twelve miles and three hundred and forty-five paces; and that circumference, except in the Vatican, has invariably been the same from the triumph of Aurelian to

display the personal prowess of a soldier; and the example of Belifarius may be added to the rare examples of Henry IV. of Pyrrhus, and of

Alexander.

CHAP. the peaceful but obscure reign of the modern popes 77. But in the day of her greatness, the space within her walls was crowded with habitations and inhabitants; and the populous suburbs, that stretched along the public roads, were darted like fo many rays from one common centre. Adversity swept away these extraneous ornaments, and left naked and defolate a confiderable part even of the feven hills. Yet Rome in its present state could fend into the field above thirty thousand males of a military age 78; and, notwithstanding the want of discipline and exercife, the far greater part, inured to the hardships of poverty, might be capable of bearing arms for the defence of their country and religion. prudence of Belifarius did not neglect this important resource. His foldiers were relieved by the zeal and diligence of the people, who watched while they flept, and laboured while they reposed: he accepted the voluntary fervice of the braveft and most indigent of the Roman youth; and the companies of townsmen sometimes represented in a vacant post, the presence of the troops which hadbeendrawnaway to more effential duties. But his just confidence was placed in the veterans

78 In the year 1709, Labat (Voyages en Italie, tom.iii. p. 218.) reckoned 138,568 Christian souls, besides 8 or 10,000 Jews - without fouls?—In the year 1763, the numbers exceeded 160,000.

⁷⁷ M. D'Anville has given, in the Memoirs of the Academy for the year 1756 (tom. xxx. p. 198-236.), a plan of Rome on a smaller scale. but far more accurate than that which he had delineated in 1738 for Rollin's hiftory. Experience had improved his knowledge; and inflead of Rossi's topography, he used the new and excellent map of Nolli. Pliny's old measure of xiii must be reduced to viii miles. It is eafier to alter a text, than to remove hills or buildings.

who had fought under his banner in the Persian C H A P. and African wars; and although that gallant. XLI. band was reduced to five thousand men, he undertook, with fuch contemptible numbers, to defend a circle of twelve miles, against an army of one hundred and fifty thousand Barbarians. In the walls of Rome, which Belisarius constructed or reftored, the materials of ancient architecture may be difcerned 79; and the whole fortification was completed, except in a chasin still extant between the Pincian and Flaminian gates, which the prejudices of the Goths and Romans left under the effectual guard of St. Peter the apostle 80. The battlements or baftions were shaped in sharp angles; a ditch, broad and deep, protected the foot of the rampart; and the archers on the rampart were affifted by military engines; the balifta, a powerful cross-bow, which darted short but maffy arrows; the onagri, or wild affes, which, on the principle of a fling, threw stones and bullets of an enormous fize 81. A chain was drawn across the Tyber; the arches of the aqueducts were made impervious, and the mole or fepulchre

79 The accurate eye of Narcini (Roma Antica, l. i. c. viii. p. 31.)

nat. Roma Vetus, l. i. c. 17. p. 53, 54.).

could diffinguish the tumultuarie opera di Belisario.

So The fissure and leaning in the upper part of the wall, which Proceedings observed (Goth. l. i. c. 13.), is visible to the present hour (Do-

⁸¹ Lipsius (Opp. tom. iii. Poliorcet. I. iii.) was ignorant of this clear and conspicuous passage of Procopius (Goth. I. i. c. 21.). The engine was named οναγρος, the wild as, a calcitrando (Hen. Steph. Thesaur. Linguæ Græc. tom. ii. p. 1340, 1341. tom. iii. p. 877.). I have seen an ingenious model, contrived and executed by General Melville, which imitates or surpasses the art of antiquity.

CHAP. of Hadrian 82 was converted, for the first time, to the uses of a citadel. That venerable structure, which contained the ashes of the Antonines, was a circular turret rifing from a quadrangular basis: it was covered with the white marble of Paros, and decorated by the flatues of gods and heroes; and the lover of the arts must read with a figh, that the works of Praxiteles or Lysippus were torn from their lofty pedeftals, and hurled into the ditch on the heads of the befiegers 83. To each of his lieutenants, Belifarius affigned the defence of a gate, with the wife and peremptory instruction, that, whatever might be the alarm, they should steadily adhere to their respective posts, and trust their general for the safety of Rome. The formidable hoft of the Goths was infufficient to embrace the ample measure of the city; of the fourteen gates, feven only were invefted from the Prænestine to the Flaminian way; and Vitiges divided his troops into fix camps, each of which was fortified with a ditch and rampart. On the Tuscan fide of the river, a feventh encampment was formed in the field or circus of the Vatican, for the important purpose of commanding the Milvian bridge and the

> 82 The description of this mausoleum, or mole, in Procopius (1.i. c. 25.), is the first and best. The height above the walls σχεδον ες λίθω βολην. On Nolli's great plan, the fides measure 260 English feet.

courfe

⁸³ Praxiteles excelled in Fauns, and that of Athens was his own mafterpiece. Rome now contains above thirty of the same character. When the ditch of St. Angelo was cleanfed under Urban VIII. the workmen found the sleeping Faun of the Barberini palace; but a leg, a thigh, and the right arm, had been broken from that beautiful statue (Winkelman, Hift. de l'Art, tom. ii. p. 52, 53. tom. iii. p. 265.).

course of the Tyber; but they approached with CHAP. devotion the adjacent church of St. Peter: and . the threshold of the holy apostles was respected during the fiege by a Christian enemy. In the ages of victory, as often as the fenate decreed fome diftant conquest, the conful denounced hoftilities, by unbarring, in folemn pomp, the gates of the temple of Janus 84. Domestic war now rendered the admonition fuperfluous, and the ceremony was fuperfeded by the eftablishment of a new religion. But the brazen temple of Janus was left standing in the forum; of a fize fufficient only to contain the flatue of the god. five cubits in height, of a human form, but with two faces directed to the east and west. The double gates were likewife of brafs; and a fruitless effort to turn them on their rusty hinges, revealed the fcandalous fecret, that fome Romans were ftill attached to the fuperfittion of their anceftors.

Eighteen days were employed by the befiegers, Repulses a to provide all the inftruments of attack which general antiquity had invented. Fascines were prepared the Goths. to fill the ditches, scaling-ladders to ascend the walls. The largest trees of the forest supplied the timbers of four battering-rams; their heads were armed with iron; they were suspended by ropes, and each of them was worked by the labour of fifty men. The lofty wooden turrets

Q 4

⁸⁴ Procopius has given the best description of the temple of Janus, 2 national deity of Latium (Heyne, Excurs. v. ad l. vii. Æneid.). It was once a gate in the primitive city of Romulus and Numa (Nardini, p. 13. 256. 329.). Virgil has described the ancient rite, like a poet and an antiquarian.

CHAP, moved on wheels or rollers, and formed a spacious platform of the level of the rampart. On the morning of the nineteenth day, a general attack was made from the Prænestine gate to the Vatican: feven Gothic columns, with their military engines, advanced to the affault; and the Romans who lined the ramparts, liftened with doubt and anxiety to the cheerful assurances of their commander. As foon as the enemy approached the ditch, Belifarius himfelf drew the first arrow; and such was his strength and dexterity, that he transfixed the foremost of the Barbarian leaders. A shout of applause and victory was re-echoed along the wall. He drew a fecond arrow, and the ftroke was followed with the fame fuccess and the same acclamation. The Roman general then gave the word, that the archers should aim at the teams of oxen; they were infantly covered with mortal wounds; the towers which they drew, remained useless and immoveable, and a fingle moment disconcerted the laborious projects of the King of the Goths. After this disappointment, Vitiges still continued, or feigned to continue the affault of the Salarian gate, that he might divert the attention of his adversary, while his principal forces more strenuously attacked the Prænestine gate and the fepulchre of Hadrian, at the distance of three miles from each other. Near the former, the double walls of the Vivarium 85 were low or

^{.85} Vivarum was an angle in the new wall inclosed for wild beafts (Procopius, Goth. l. i. c. 23.). The fpot is still visible in Nardini (l. iv. c. 2. p. 159, 160.) and Nolli's great plan of Rome.

broken; the fortifications of the latter were feebly CHAP. guarded: the vigour of the Goths was excited by the hope of victory and spoil; and if a single post had given way, the Romans, and Rome itself, were irrecoverably loft. This perilous day was the most glorious in the life of Belisarius. Amidst tumult and difmay, the whole plan of the attack and defence was distinctly present to his mind; he obferved the changes of each inftant, weighed every possible advantage, transported his person to the fcenes of danger, and communicated his spirit in calm and decifive orders. The contest was fiercely maintained from the morning to the evening; the Goths were repulfed on all fides, and each Roman might boaft, that he had vanquished thirty Barbarians, if the strange disproportion of numbers were not counterbalanced by the merit of one man. Thirty thousand Goths, according to the confesfion of their own chiefs, perished in this bloody action: and the multitude of the wounded was equal to that of the flain. When they advanced to the affault, their close disorder suffered not a javelin to fall without effect; and as they retired, the populace of the city joined the pursuit, and flaughtered, with impunity, the backs of their flying enemies. Belifarius inftantly fallied from the His fallies. gates; and while the foldiers chaunted his name and victory, the hoftile engines of war were reduced to ashes. Such was the loss and consternation of the Goths, that, from this day, the fiege of Rome degenerated into a tedious and indolent blockade; and they were inceffantly haraffed by the Roman general, who, in frequent skirmishes, destroyed

CHAP destroyed above five thousand of their bravest troops. Their cavalry was unpractifed in the ufe of the bow; their arches ferved on foot; and this divided force was incapable of contending with their adversaries, whose lances and arrows. at a distance, or at hand, were alike formidable. The confumate skill of Belisarius embraced the favourable opportunities: and as he chose the ground and the moment, as he pressed the charge or founded the retreat 86, the squadrons which he detached were feldom unfuccessful. partial advantages diffused an impatient ardour among the foldiers and people, who began to feel the hardships of a siege, and to disregard the dangers of a general engagement. Each plebeian conceived himself to be an hero, and the infanttry, who, fince the decay of discipline, were rejected from the line of battle, aspired to the ancient honours of the Roman legion. Belifarius praifed the fpirit of his troops, condemned their prefumption, yielded to their clamours, and prepared the remedies of a defeat, the possibility of which he alone had courage to suspect. In the quarter of the Vatican, the Romans prevailed; and if the irreparable moments had not been wafted in the pillage of the camp, they might have occupied the Milvian bridge, and charged in the rear of the Gothic hoft. On the other fide of the

Tyber,

⁸⁶ For the Roman trumpet and its various notes, confult Lipfius, de Militià Romana (Opp. tom. iii. l. iv. Dialog. x. p. 125-129.). A mode of diffinguishing the charge by the horse-trumpet of solid brass, and the retreat by the foot-trumpet of leather and light wood, was recommended by Procopius, and adopted by Belifarius (Goth. 1. ii. C.23.).

Tyber, Belifarius advanced from the Pincian and CHAP. Salarian gates. But his army, four thousand foldiers perhaps, was loft in a spacious plain; they were encompassed and oppressed by fresh multitudes, who continually relieved the broken ranks The valiant leaders of the of the Barbarians. infantry were unskilled to conquer; they died: the retreat (an hafty retreat) was covered by the prudence of the general, and the victors started back with affright from the formidable aspect of an armed rampart. The reputation of Belifarius was unfullied by a defeat; and the vain confidence of the Goths was not less serviceable to his defigns, than the repentance and modefty of the Roman troops.

From the moment that Belifarius had deter- Diffress of mined to fuftain a fiege, his affiduous care pro- the city. vided Rome against the danger of famine, more dreadful than the Gothic arms. An extraordinary fupply of corn was imported from Sicily: the harvests of Campania and Tuscany were forcibly fwept for the use of the city: and the rights of private property were infringed by the ftrong plea of the public fafety. It might eafily be foreseen that the enemy would intercept the aqueducts; and the ceffation of the water-mills was the first inconvenience, which was fpeedily removed by mooring large vessels, and fixing mill-stones in the current of the river. The stream was foon embarraffed by the trunks of trees, and polluted with dead bodies: yet so effectual were the precautions of the Roman general, that the waters of the Tyber still continued to give motion to the

C H A P. the mills and drink to the inhabitants; the more diftant quarters were fupplied from domestic wells; and a befieged city might fupport, without impatience, the privation of her public baths. A large portion of Rome, from the Prænestine gate to the church of St. Paul, was never invefted by the Goths; their excursions were restrained by the activity of the Moorish troops: the navigation of the Tyber and the Latin, Appian, and Oftian ways, were left free and unmolested for the introduction of corn and cattle, or the retreat of the inhabitants, who fought a refuge in Campania or Sicily. Anxious to relieve himself from an useless and devouring multitude, Belifarius iffued his peremptory orders for the instant departure of the women, the children, and flaves; required his foldiers to difmifs their male and female attendants, and regulated their allowance, that one moiety should be given in provifions, and the other in money. His forefight was justified by the increase of the public distress, as foon as the Goths had occupied two important posts in the neighbourhood of Rome. By the loss of the port, or, as it is now called, the city of Porto, he was deprived of the country on the right of the Tyber, and the best communication with the fea; and he reflected with grief and anger, that three hundred men, could he have spared fuch a feeble band, might have defended its impregnable works. Seven miles from the capital, between the Appian and the Latin ways, two principal aqueducts croffing, and again croffing each other, inclosed within their folid and lofty arches

arches a fortified space 87, were Vitiges established C H A P. a camp of feven thousand Goths to intercept the convoys of Sicily and Campania. The granaries of Rome were infenfibly exhaufted, the adjacent country had been wasted with fire and sword; fuch fcanty fupplies as might yet be obtained by hafty excursions, were the reward of valour, and the purchase of wealth: the forage of the horses, and the bread of the foldiers, never failed; but in the last months of the siege, the people were exposed to the miseries of scarcity, unwholesome food s, and contagious diforders. Belifarius faw and pitied their fufferings; but he had foreseen, and he watched the decay of their loyalty, and the progress of their discontent. Adversity had awakened the Romans from the dreams of grandeur and freedom, and taught them the humiliating lesson, that it was of small moment to their real happiness, whether the name of their master was derived from the Gothic or the Latin language. The lieutenant of Justinian listened to their just complaints, but he rejected with disdain the idea of flight or capitulation; repressed their clamorous impatience for battle; amused them

⁸⁷ Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 3.) has forgot to name these aqueducts: nor can such a double intersection, at such a distance from Rome, be clearly ascertained from the writings of Frontinus Fabretti and Eschinard, de Aquis and de Agro Romano, or from the local maps of Lameti and Cingolani. Seven or eight miles from the city (50 stadia), on the road to Albano, between the Latin and Appian ways, I discern the remains of an aqueduct (probably the Septimian), a series (630 paces) of arches twenty-five feet high (ψψηλω εσαγαν).

** They made fausages, αλλατας, of mule's flesh: unwholesome, if the animals had died of the plague. Otherwise the famous Bologna sausages are said to be made of as slesh (Voyages de Labat, tom. ii.

p. 218.).

снар. with the prospect of sure and speedy relief; and fecured himself and the city from the effects of their despair or treachery. Twice in each month he changed the station of the officers to whom the custody of the gates was committed: the various precautions, of patroles, watch-words, lights, and music, were repeatedly employed to discover whatever passed on the ramparts; outguards were posted beyond the ditch, and the trusty vigilance of dogs supplied the more doubtful fidelity of mankind. A letter was intercepted, which affured the King of the Goths, that the Afinarian gate, adjoining to the Lateran church, should be fecretly opened to his troops. On the proof or suspicion of treason, several senators were banished, and the Pope Sylverius was summoned to attend the representative of his sovereign, at his head-quarters in the Pincian palace89. The ecclefiaftics who followed their bishop, were detained in the first or second apartment 90, and he alone was admitted to the presence of Beli-The conqueror of Rome and Carthage farius. was modeftly feated at the feet of Antonina, who reclined on a stately couch: the general was filent, but the voice of reproach and menace

Exile of Pope Sylveruis, A. D. 537. Nov. 17.

> 89 The name of the palace, the hill, and the adjoining gate, were all derived from the fenator Pincius. Some recent vestiges of temples and churches are now smoothed in the garden of the Minims of the Trinità del Monte (Nardini, l. iv. c. 7. p. 196. Eschinard, p. 209, 210. the old plan of Buffalino, and the great plan of Nolli.). Belifarius had fixed his flation between the Pincian and Salarian gates (Procop. Goth. 1.i.

90 From the mention of the primum et secundum velum, it should feem that Belifarius, even in a fiege, reprefented the Emperor, and main-

tained the proud ceremonial of the Byzantine palace.

iffued from the mouth of his imperious wife. CHAP. Accused by credible witnesses, and the evidence of his own fubscription, the fuccessor of St. Peter was despoiled of his pontifical ornaments, clad in the mean habit of a monk, and embarked, without delay, for a diffant exile in the Eaft. At the Emperor's command, the clergy of Rome proceeded to the choice of a new bishop; and after a folemn invocation of the Holy Ghoft, elected the deacon Vigilius, who had purchased the papal throne by a bribe of two hundred pounds of gold. The profit, and confequently the guilt, of this fimony, was imputed to Belifarius: but the hero obeyed the orders of his wife; Antonina ferved the passions of the Empress; and Theodora lavished her reasures, in the vain hope of obtaining a pontiff hostile or indifferent to the council of Chalcedon 91.

The epiftle of Belifarius to the Emperor an- Delivernounced his victory, his danger, and his refolu- ance of tion, "According to your commands, we have " entered the dominions of the Goths, and re-"duced to your obedience, Sicily, Campania, " and the city of Rome, but the loss of these " conquefts will be more difgraceful than their

" acquisition was glorious. Hitherto we have

" fuccessfully fought against the multitude of "the Barbarians, but their multitudes may

" finally prevail. Victory is the gift of Provi-

91 Of this act of facrilege, Procopius (Goth. l. i. c. 25.) is a dry and reluctant witness. The narratives of Liberatus (Breviarium, c. 22.) and Anastasius (de Vit. Pont. p. 39.) are characteristic, but passionate. Hear the execrations of Cardinal Baronius (A.D. 536, No. 123. A.D. 538, No. 4-20.): portentum, facinus omni execratione dignum.

dence.

CHAP. "dence, but the reputation of kings and ge-" nerals depends on the fuccess or the failure " of their defigns. Permit me to speak with " freedom: if you wish that we should live, " fend us subsistence; if you defire that we " fhould conquer, fend us arms, horfes, and " men. The Romans have received us as " friends and deliverers: but in our present dis-" trefs, they will be either betrayed by their " confidence, or we shall be oppressed by their " treachery and hatred. For myfelf, my life is " confecrated to your fervice: it is yours to re-" flect, whether my death in this fituation will " contribute to the glory and prosperity of your " reign." Perhaps that reign would have been equally prosperous, if the peaceful master of the East had abstained from the conquest of Africa and Italy, but as Justinian was ambitious of fame, he made some efforts, they were feeble and languid, to support and rescue his victorious general. A reinforcement of fixteen hundred Sclavonians and Huns was led by Martin and Valerian; and as they had reposed during the winter feafon in the harbours of Greece, the strength of the men and horses was not impaired by the fatigues of a fea-voyage; and they diftingushed their valour in the first fally against the befiegers. About the time of the fummer folftice, Euthalius landed at Terracina with large sums of money for the payment of the troops; he cautiously proceeded along the Appian way, and this convoy entered Rome through the-

the gate Capena 92, while Belifarius, on the other C H A P fide, diverted the attention of the Goths by a vigorous and fuccefsful skirmish. These seasonable aids, the use and reputation of which were dexteroufly managed by the Roman general, revived the courage, or at least the hopes of the foldiers and people. The historian Procopius was dispatched with an important commisfion, to collect the troops and provisions which Campania could furnish, or Constantinople had fent; and the fecretary of Belifarius was foon followed by Antonina herfelf 93, who boldly traverfed the posts of the enemy, and returned with the oriental fuccours to the relief of her husband and the belieged city. A fleet of three thousand Isaurians cast anchor in the bay of Naples, and afterwards at Oftia. Above two thousand horse, of whom a part were Thracians, landed at Tarentum; and, after the junction of five hundred foldiers of Campania, and a train of waggons laden with wine and flour, they directed their march on the Appian way, from Capua to the neighbourhood of Rome. The forces that arrived by land and fea, were united at the mouth of the Tyber. Antonina convened a council of war: it was refolved to furmount with fails and oars, the adverse stream of the river: and the Goths were apprehensive of disturbing, by any

93 The expression of Procopius has an invidious cast — τυχην εκ τε ασφαλες την σφισι συμβησομενην καραδοκειν (Goth. l. ii. c. 4.). Yet he is speaking of a woman.

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⁹² The old Capena was removed by Aurelian to, or near, the modern gate of St. Sebastian (See Nolli's plan). That memorable spot has been consecrated by the Egerian grove, the memory of Numa, triumphal arches, the sepulchres of the Scipios, Metelli, &c.

CHAP. rash hostilities, the negociation to which Belisarius had craftily liftened. They creduloufly believed that they faw no more than the vanguard of a fleet and army, which already covered the Ionian fea and the plains of Campania; and the illufion was fupported by the haughty language of the Roman general, when he gave audience to the ambaffadors of Vitiges. After a specious discourse to vindicate the justice of his cause, they declared that, for the fake of peace, they were disposed to renounce the possession of Si-"The Emperor is not less generous," replied his lieutenant, with a difdainful fmile, " in " return for a gift which you no longer possess: " he presents you with an ancient province of the " empire; he refigns to the Goths the fovereignty " of the British island." Belisarius rejected with equal firmness and contempt the offer of a tribute: but he allowed the Gothic ambaffadors to feek their fate from the mouth of Justinian himfelf; and confented with feeming reluctance, to a truce of three months, from the winter folftice to the equinox of spring. Prudence might not fafely trust either the oaths or hostages of the barbarians, but the conscious superiority of the Roman chief was expressed in the distribution of his troops. As foon as fear or hunger compelled the Goths to evacuate Alba, Porto, and Centumcellæ, their place was inftantly fupplied; the garrifons of Narni, Spoleto, and Perufia, were reinforced, and the feven camps of the befiegers were gradually encompassed with the calamities of a fiege. The prayers and pilgrimage of Datius, Bishop 15

Belifarius recovers many cities of Italy.

Bishop of Milan, were not without effect; and he CHAP. obtained one thousand Thracians and Isaurians, to affift the revolt of Liguria against her Arian tyrant. At the fame time, John the Sanguinary94, the nephew of Vitalian, was detached with two thousand chosen horse, first to Alba on the Fucine lake, and afterwards to the frontiers of Picenum on the Hadriatic fea. "In that province," faid Belifarius, "the Goths have deposited their " families and treafures, without a guard or the "fuspicion of danger. Doubtless they will "violate the truce: let them feel your presence, " before they hear of your motions. Spare the "Italians; fuffer not any fortified places to re-" main hoftile in your rear; and faithfully re-" ferve the spoil for an equal and common par-"tition. It would not be reasonable," he added with a laugh, "that whilft we are toiling to the "destruction of the drones, our more fortunate " brethren should rifle and enjoy the honey."

The whole nation of the Oftrogoths had been The Goths affembled for the attack, and was almost entirely raise the confumed in the fiege of Rome. If any credit Rome, be due to an intelligent spectator, one-third at A.D. 538, least of their enormous host was destroyed, in frequent and bloody combats under the walls of the city. The bad fame and pernicious qualities of the fummer air, might already be imputed to the decay of agriculture and population; and the evils of famine and peftilence were aggravated by their own licentiousness, and the unfriendly disposition

94 Anastasius (p. 40.) has preserved this epithet of Sanguinarius, which might do honour to a tyger.

R 2

CHAP. of the country. While Vitiges struggled with his fortune; while he hefitated between shame and ruin; his retreat was haftened by domestic alarms. The King of the Goths was informed by trembling meffengers, that John the Sanguinary fpread the devastations of war from the Appenine to the Hadriatic; that the rich spoils and innumerable captives of Picenum were lodged in the fortifications of Rimini; and that this formidable chief had defeated his uncle, infulted his capital, and feduced, by fecret correfpondence, the fidelity of his wife, the imperious daughter of Amalasontha. Yet, before he retired, Vitiges made a last effort, either to storm or to surprife the city. A fecret passage was discovered in one of the aqueducts; two citizens of the Vatican were tempted by bribes to intoxicate the guards of the Aurelian gate; an attack was meditated on the walls beyond the Tyber in a place which was not fortified with towers; and the barbarians advanced, with torches and fealingladders, to the affault of the Pincian gate. every attempt was defeated by the intrepid vigilance of Belifarius and his band of veterans, who, in the most perilous moments, did not regret the absence of their companions; and the Goths, alike destitute of hope and subsistence, clamorously urged their departure, before the truce should expire, and the Roman cavalry should again be One year and nine days after the commencement of the fiege, an army fo lately ftrong and triumphant, burnt their tents, and tumultuoufly repassed the Milvian bridge. They repassed not with impunity: their thronging multitudes CHAP oppressed in a narrow passage, were driven headlong into the Tyber, by their own fears and the pursuit of the enemy; and the Roman general, fallying from the Pincian gate, inflicted a fevere and difgraceful wound on their retreat. The flow length of a fickly and defponding hoft was heavily dragged along the Flaminian way; from whence the barbarians were fometimes compelled to deviate left they should encounter the hoftile garrifons that guarded the high road to Rimini and Ravenna. Yet so powerful was this flying army, that Vitiges spared ten thousand men for the defence of the cities which he was most folicitous to preserve, and detached his nephew Uraias, with an adequate force, for the chastisement of rebellious Milan. At the head of his principal army, he befieged Rimini, only thirty-three miles diftant from the Gothic capi-A feeble rampart, and a shallow ditch, were maintained by the skill and valour of John the Sanguinary, who shared the danger and fatigue of the meanest foldier, and emulated, on a theatre less illustrious, the military virtues of his great commander. The towers and batter- Lofe Riing engines of the barbarians were rendered mini. useless; their attacks were repulsed; and the tedious blockade, which reduced the garrifon to the last extremity of hunger, afforded time for the union and march of the Roman forces. A fleet which had furprifed Ancona, failed along the coast of the Hadriatic, to the relief of the befieged city. The eunuch Narfes landed in

R 3

Picenum.

CHAP. Picenum with two thousand Heruli and five thousand of the bravest troops of the East. The rock of the Appenine was forced; ten thousand veterans moved round the foot of the mountains, under the command of Belisarius himself; and a new army, whose encampment blazed with innumerable lights, appeared to advance along the Flaminian way. Overwhelmed with aftonifhment and defpair, the Goths abandoned the fiege of Rimini, their tents, their ftandards, and their leaders; and Vitiges, who gave or followed the example of flight, never halted till he found a thelter within the walls and moraffes of Ravenna.

Retire to Ravenna.

Jealoufy 538.

To these walls, and to some fortresses destitute of the Ro- of any mutual support, the Gothic monarchy was rals, A.D. now reduced. The provinces of Italy had embraced the party of the Emperor; and his army, gradually recruited to the number of twenty thousand men, must have atchieved an easy and rapid conquest, if their invincible powers had not been weakened by the difcord of the Roman chiefs. Before the end of the fiege, an act of blood, ambiguous and indifcreet, fullied the fair fame of Belifarius. Prefidius, a loyal Italian, as he fled from Ravenna to Rome, was rudely stopped by Constantine, the military governor of Spoleto, and despoiled, even in a church, of two daggers richly inlaid with gold As foon as the public and precious ftones. danger had fubfided, Prefidius complained of the loss and injury: his complaint was heard, but the order of restitution was disobeyed by the pride and avarice of the offender. Exafperated

general's horse as he passed through the forum; and with the spirit of a citizen, demanded the common benefit of the Roman laws. honour of Belifarius was engaged; he fummoned a council; claimed the obedience of his fubordinate officer; and was provoked, by an infolent reply, to call haftily for the prefence of his guards. Conftantine, viewing their entrance as the fignal of death, drew his fword, and rushed on the general, who nimbly eluded the ftroke, and was protected by his friends; while the desperate affaffin was difarmed, dragged into a neighbouring chamber, and executed, or rather murdered, by the guards, at the arbitrary command of Belifarius 65. In this hafty act of violence, the guilt Death of of Constantine was no longer remembered; the Constantine, despair and death of that valiant officer were fecretly imputed to the revenge of Antonina; and each of his colleagues, conscious of the same

rapine, was apprehensive of the same fate. The fear of a common enemy suspended the effects of their envy and discontent; but in the confidence of approaching victory, they inftigated a powerful rival to oppose the conqueror of Rome

rated by the delay, Prefidius boldly arrested the CHAP.

and Africa. From the domestic service of the The eupalace, and the administration of the private re- nuch Narfes.

95 This transaction is related in the public history (Goth. I. ii. c. 8.) with candour or caution; in the Anecdotes (c. 7.) with malevolence or freedom; but Marcellinus, or rather his continuator (in Chron.), cafts a shade of premeditated assassination over the death of Constantine. He had performed good fervice at Rome and Spoleto (Procop. Goth. l. i. c. 7. 14.); but Alemannus confounds him with a Conftantianus comes stabuli.

venue, Narses the eunuch was suddenly exalted

CHAP to the head of an army; and the spirit of an hero, who afterwards equalled the merit and glory of Belifarius, ferved only to perplex the operations of the Gothic war. To his prudent counfels, the relief of Rimini was afcribed by the leaders of the discontented faction, who exhorted Narses to assume an independent and separate command. The epiftle of Justinian had indeed enjoined his obedience to the general: but the dangerous exception, " as far as may be " advantageous to the public fervice," referved fome freedom of judgment to the difcreet favourite, who had fo lately departed from the facred and familiar conversation of his sovereign. In the exercise of this doubtful right, the eunuch perpetually diffented from the opinions of Belifarius; and, after yielding with reluctance to the fiege of Urbino, he deferted his colleague in the night, and marched away to the conquest of the Æmelian province. The fierce and formidable bands of the Heruli were attached to the perfon of Narses 96; ten thousand Romans and confederates were perfuaded to march under his banners; every malecontent embraced the fair opportunity of revenging his private or imaginary wrongs; and the remaining troops of Belifarius were divided and dispersed from the garrisons of Sicily to the shores of the Hadriatic. His skill and perfeverance overcame every obstacle: Ur-

Firmness and authority of Belifarius.

> 96 They refused to serve after his departure; fold their captives and cattle to the Goths; and fwore never to fight against them. Procopius introduces a curious digression on the manners and adventures of this wandering nation, a part of whom finally emigrated to Thule or Scandinavia (Goth. l. ii. c. 14, 15.).

> > bino

bino was taken, the fieges of Fæsulæ, Orvieto, CHAP. and Auximum, were undertaken and vigoroufly profecuted; and the eunuch Narfes was at length recalled to the domestic cares of the palace. All diffensions were healed, and all opposition was fubdued, by the temperate authority of the Roman general, to whom his enemies could not refuse their esteem; and Belisarius inculcated the falutary leffon, that the forces of the flate should compose one body, and be animated by one foul. But in the interval of difcord, the Goths were permitted to breathe; an important feafon was loft, Milan was destroyed, and the northern provinces of Italy were afflicted by an inundation of the Franks.

When Justinian first meditated the conquest of Invasion Italy, he fent ambaffadors to the kings of the of Italy Franks, and abjured them, by the common ties of by the Franks, alliance and religion, to join in the holy enter- A.D. prife against the Arians. The Goths, as their 538, 539. wants were more urgent, employed a more effectual mode of perfuaiion, and vainly strove, by the gift of lands and money, to purchase the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of a light and perfidious nation 97. But the arms of Belifarius, and the revolt of the Italians, had no fooner shaken the Gothic monarchy, than Theodebert of Auftrafia, the most powerful and warlike of the Merovingian kings, was perfuaded to fuccour their diffress by an indirect and feafonable aid.

97 This national reproach of perfidy (Procop. Goth. 1. ii. c. 25.) offends the ear of La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii. p. 163-165.), who criticifes, as if he had not read, the Greek historian.

Without

CHAP. Without expecting the confent of their fovereign. ten thousand Burgundians, his recent subjects, descended from the Alps, and joined the troops which Vitiges had fent to chaftise the revolt of Milan. After an obstinate siege, the capital of Liguria was reduced by famine, but no capitulation could be obtained, except for the fafe retreat of the Roman garrifon. Datius, the orthodox bishop, who had seduced his countrymen to rebellion 98 and ruin, escaped to the luxury and honours of the Byzantine court 99; but the clergy, perhaps the Arian clergy, were flaughtered at the foot of their own altars by the defenders of the Catholic faith. Three hundred thousand males were reported to be flain 100; the female fex, and the more precious spoil, was resigned to the Burgundians; and the houses, or at least the walls of Milan, were levelled with the ground. The Goths, in their last moments, were revenged by the destruction of a city, second only to Rome in fize and opulence, in the fplendour of its builddings, or the number of its inhabitants; and Belifarius fympathized alone in the fate of his deferted and devoted friends. Encouraged by

Destruction of Mi-

> 98 Baronius applauds his treason, and justifies the Catholic bishops qui ne sub heretico principe degant omnem lapidem movent -an useful caution. The more rational Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 54.) hints at the guilt of perjury, and blames at least the imprudence of Datius.

> 99 St. Datius was more successful against devils than against Barbarians. He travelled with a numerous retinue, and occupied at Corinth a large house (Baronius, A. D. 538, No. 89. A. D. 539, No. 20.).

¹⁰⁰ Миргадея трановта (compare Procopius, Goth. l. ii. с. 7. 21.). Yet fuch population is incredible; and the fecond or third city of Italy need not repine if we only decimate the numbers of the present text. Both Milan and Genoa revived in less than thirty years (Paul Diacon. de Gestis Langobard. 1. ii. c. 38.).

this fuccessful inroad, Theodebert himself, in the C H A P. enfuing fpring, invaded the plains of Italy with an army of one hundred thousand Barbarians 101. The King, and fome chosen followers, were mounted on horseback, and armed with lances; the infantry, without bows or spears, were satisfied with a shield, a sword, and a double-edged battleaxe, which, in their hands, became a deadly and unerring weapon. Italy trembled at the march of the Franks; and both the Gothic prince and the Roman general, alike ignorant of their defigns, folicited with hope and terror, the friendship of these dangerous allies. Till he had secured the passage of the Po on the bridge of Pavia, the grandfon of Clovis diffembled his intentions, which he at length declared, by affaulting, almost at the same instant, the hostile camps of the Romans and Goths. Instead of uniting their arms, they fled with equal precipitation; and the fertile, though defolate provinces of Liguria and Æmilia, were abandoned to a licentious host of Barbarians, whose rage was not mitigated by any thoughts of fettlement or conquest. Among the cities which they ruined, Genoa, not yet constructed of marble, is particularly enumerated: and the deaths of thousands, according to the regular practice of war, appear to have excited less horror than some idolatrous facrifices of women and children, which were preformed with impunity in the camp of the most Christian

¹⁰¹ Besides Procopius, perhaps too Roman, see the Chronicles of Marius and Marcellinus, Jornandes (in Success. Regn. in Muratori, tom. i. p. 241.), and Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 32. in tom. ii. of the Historians of France). Gregory supposes a defeat of Belisarius, who, in Aimoin, (de Gestis Franc. l. ii. c. 23. in tom. iii. p. 59.), is slain by the Franks. king.

CHAP. king. If it were not a melancholy truth, that the first and most cruel sufferings must be the lot of the innocent and helpless, history might exult in the mifery of the conquerors, who, in the midst of riches, were left destitute of bread or wine, reduced to drink the waters of the Po, and to feed on the flesh of distempered cattle. The dysentery swept away one-third of their army; and the clamours of his fubjects, who were impatient to pass the Alps, disposed Theodebert to liften with respect to the mild exhortations of The memory of this inglorious and Belifarius. destructive warfare was perpetuated on the medals of Gaul; and Justinian, without unsheathing his fword, affumed the title of conqueror of the Franks. The Merovingian prince was offended by the vanity of the Emperor; he affected to pity the fallen fortunes of the Goths; and his infidious offer of a feederal union was fortified by the promife or menace of descending from the Alps at the head of five hundred thousand men. His plans of conquest were boundless and perhaps chimerical. The King of Austrasia. threatened to chastife Justinian, and to march to the gates of Conftantinople 102: he was overthrown and flain 103 by a wild bull 104, as he hunted in the Belgic or German forests.

 $\mathbf{A}\mathbf{s}$

¹⁰² Agathias, I.i. p. 14, 15. Could he have feduced or fubdued the Gepidæ or Lombards of Pannonia, the Greek historian is confident that he must have been destroyed in Thrace.

¹⁰³ The King pointed his spear—the bull overturned a tree on his head—he expired the same day. Such is the story of Agathias; but the original historians of France (tom. ii. p. 202. 403. 558. 667.) impute his death to a fever.

¹⁰⁴ Without losing myself in a labyrinth of species and names—the aurochs, urus, bisons, bubalus, bonasus, bustalo, &c. (Buston, Hist. Nat.

As foon as Belifarius was delivered from his CHAP. foreign and domestic enemies, he seriously applied his forces to the final reduction of Italy. In the Belifarius fiege of Ofimo, the general was nearly tranf- befieges pierced with an arrow, if the mortal stroke had not been intercepted by one of his guards, who loft, in that pious office, the use of his hand. The Goths of Osimo, four thousand warriors, with those of Fæsulæ and the Cottian Alps, were among the last who maintained their independence; and their gallantrefistance, which almost tired the patience, deferved the efteem, of the conqueror. His prudence refused to subscribe the safe conduct which they asked, to join their brethren of Ravenna; but they faved, by an honourable capitulation, one moiety at least of their wealth, with the free alternative of retiring peaceably to their effates, or enlifting to ferve the Emperor in his Perfian wars. The multitudes which yet adhered to the standard of Vitiges, far furpaffed the number of the Roman troops; but neither prayers, nor defiance, nor the extreme danger of his most faithful subjects, could tempt the Gothic King beyond the fortifications of Rayenna. These fortifications were, indeed, impregnable to the affaults of art or violence; and when Belifarius invefted the capital, he was foon convince that famine only could tame the stubborn spirit of the Barbarians. The fea, the land, and the channels of the Po, were guarded by the vigilance of the Roman general;

tom. xi. and Supplement, tom. iii. vi.), it is certain, that in the fixth century a large wild species of horned cattle was hunted in the great forests of the Vosges in Lorraine, and the Ardennes (Greg. Turon. tom. ii. I. x. c. 10. p. 369.).

CHAP. and his morality extended the rights of war to the practice of poisoning the waters 105, and secretly firing the granaries 106 of a befieged city 107. While he pressed the blockade of Ravenna, he was furprifed by the arrival of two ambaffadors from-Constantinople, with a treaty of peace, which Justinian had imprudently figned, without deigning to confult the author of his victory. By this difgraceful and precarious agreement, Italy and the Gothic treasure were divided, and the provinces beyond the Po were left with the regal title to the fucceffor of Theodoric. ambassadors were eager to accomplish their salutary commission; the captive Vitiges accepted, with transport, the unexpected offer of a crown; honour was less prevalent among the Goths, than the want and appetite of food; and the Roman chiefs, who murmured at the continuance of the war, professed implicit submission to the

105 In the fiege of Auximum, he first laboured to demolish an old aqueduct, and then cast into the stream, 1. dead bodies; 2. mischievous herbs; and 3. quicklime, which is named (says Procopius, l. ii. c. 29.) ειτανος by the ancients; by the moderns ασζετος. Yet both words are used as synonimous in Galen, Dioscorides, and Lucian (Hen. Steph. Thesaur. Ling. Græc, tom. iii. p. 748.

commands of the Emperor. If Belifarius had

The Goths suspected Mathasuintha as an accomplice in the mis-

chief, which perhaps was occasioned by accidental lightning.

107 In strict philosophy, a limitation of the rights of war seems to imply nonsense and contradiction. Grotius himself is lost in an idle distinction between the jus nature and the jus gentium, between poison and insection. He balances in one scale the passages of Homer(Odyss. A.259. &c.) and Florus (l. ii. c. 20. No. 7. ult.); and in the other, the examples of Solon (Pausanias, l. x. c. 37.) and Belisarius. See his great work De Jure Belli et Pacis, l. iii. c. 4. s. 15, 16, 17. and in Barbeyrac's versiontom. ii. p. 257, &c.). Yet I can understand the benefit and validity of an agreement, tacit or express, mutually to abstain from certain modes of hostility. See the Amphictyonic oath in Eschines, de Falsa Legatione.

possessed only the courage of a foldier, the laurel C H A P. would have been fnatched from his hand by timid and envious counfels; but in this decifive moment, he refolved, with the magnanimity of a statesman, to sustain alone the danger and merit of generous disobedience. Each of his officers gave a written opinion, that the fiege of Ravenna was impracticable and hopeless: the general then rejected the treaty of partition, and declared his own resolution of leading Vitiges in chains to the feet of Justinian. The Goths retired with doubt and difmay: this peremptory refusal deprived them of the only fignature which they could trust, and filled their minds with a just apprehension, that a fagacious enemy had discovered the full extent of their deplorable flate. They compared the fame and fortune of Belifarius with the weakness of their ill-fated king; and the comparison fuggested an extraordinary project, to which Vitiges, with apparent refignation, was compelled to acquiesce. Partition would ruin the strength, exile would difgrace the honour, of the nation: but they offered their arms, their treasures, and the fortifications of Ravenna, if Belifarius would disclaim the authority of a master, accept the choice of the Goths, and assume, as he had deferved, the kingdom of Italy. If the false luftre of adiadem could have tempted the loyalty of a faithful fubject, his prudence must have foreseen the inconstancy of the Barbarians, and his rational ambition would prefer the fafe and honourable station of a Roman general. Even the patience and feeming fatisfaction with which he entertained

CHAP, tained a proposal of treason, might be susceptible of a malignant interpretation. But the lieutenant of Justinian was conscious of his own rectitude; he entered into a dark and crooked path, as it might lead to the voluntary fubmission of the Goths; and his dexterous policy perfuaded them that he was disposed to comply with their wishes, without engaging an oath or a promife for the performance of a treaty which he fecretly abhorred. The day of the furrender of Ravenna was stipulated by the Gothic ambaffadors: a fleet, laden with provisions, failed as a welcome guest into the deepest recess of the harbour: the gates were opened to the fancied King of Italy; and Belifarius, without meeting an enemy, triumphantly marched through the streets of an impregnable December. city 108. The Romans were aftonished by their fuccess; the multitude of tall and robust Barbarians were confounded by the image of their own patience; and the masculine females, spitting in the faces of their fons and husbands, most bitterly reproached them for betraying their dominion and freedom to these pygmies of the fouth, contemptible in their numbers, diminutive in their stature. Before the Goths could recover from the first furprife, and claim the accomplishment of their doubtful hopes, the victor established his power

Subdues the Gothic kingdom of Italy, A. D. 539,

> 198 Ravenna was taken, not in the year 540, but in the latter end of 539; and Pagi (tom. ii. p. 569.) is rectified by Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom.v. p. 62.), who proves, from an original act on papyrus (Antiquit. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii. dissert. xxxii. p. 999-1007. Maffei, Istoria Diplomat. p. 155-160.), that before the third of January 540, peace and free correspondence were restored between Ravenna and Faenza.

In Ravenna, beyond the danger of repentance and CHAP. revolt. Vitiges, who perhaps had attempted to escape, was honourably guarded in his palace 109; Captivity the flower of the Gothic youth was felected for the of Vitiges. fervice of the Emperor; the remainder of the people was dismissed to their peaceful habitations in the fouthern provinces; and a colony of Italians was invited to replenish the depopulated city. The fubmission of the capital was imitated in the towns and villages of Italy, which had not been fubdued, or even vifited, by the Romans; and the independent Goths who remained in arms at Pavia and Verona, were ambitious only to become the fubjects of Belifarius. But his inflexible loyalty rejected, except as the substitute of Justinian, their oaths of allegiance; and he was not offended by the reproach of their deputies, that he rather chose to be a flave than a king.

After the second victory of Belisarius, envyagain Return whifpered, Justinian listened, and the hero was of Belifarecalled. "The remnant of the Gothic war was rius. " no longer worthy of his presence: a gracious " fovereign was impatient to reward his fervices, " and to confult his wifdom; and he alone was " capable of defending the East against the innu-" merable armies of Persia." Belisarius underflood the fuspicion, accepted the excuse, embarked at Ravenna his spoils and trophies; and

¹⁰⁹ He was feized by John the Sanguinary, but an oath or facrament was pledged for his fafety in the Bafilica Julii (Hift. Mifcell. I. xvii. in Muratori, tom. i. p. 107.). Anastasius (in Vit. Pont. p. 40.) gives a dark but probable account. Montfaucon is quoted by Mascou (Hist. of the Germans, xii. 21.) for a votive shield representing the captivity of Vitiges, and now in the collection of Signor Landi at Rome.

CHAP proved by his ready obedience, that fuch an abrupt removal from the government of Italy was not less unjust than it might have been indis-The Emperor received with honourable creet. courtefy, both Vitiges and his more noble confort: and as the King of the Goths conformed to the Athanasian faith, he obtained, with a rich inheritance of lands in Afia, the rank of fenator and patrician 110. Every spectator admired, without peril, the strength and stature of the young barbarians: they adored the strength and majesty of the throne, and promifed to flied their blood in the service of their benefactor. Justinian deposited in the Byzantine palace the treasures of the Gothic monarchy. A flattering fenate was fometimes admitted to gaze on the magnificent fpectacle; but it was enviously fecluded from the public view; and the conqueror of Italy renounced, without a murmur, perhaps without a figh, the well-earned honours of a fecond triumph. His glory was indeed exalted above all external pomp; and the faint and hollow praifes of the court were fupplied, even in a fervile age, by the respect and admiration of his country. Whenever he appeared in the ftreets and public places of Conftantinople, Belifarius attracted and fatisfied the eyes of the people. His lofty stature and majestic countenance fulfilled their expectations of an hero; the meanest of his fellow-citizens

Vitiges lived two years at Conflantinople, and imperatoris in affectù convictus (or conjunctus) rebus excessit humanis. His widow, Mathafuenta, the wife and mother of the patricians, the elder and younger Germanus, united the streams of Anician and Amali blood (Jornandes, c. 60. p. 221. in Muratori, tom. i.).

were emboldened by his gentle and gracious de- C H A P. meanour; and the martial train which attended, his footsteps, left his person more accessible than in a day of battle. Seven thousand horsemen, matchless for beauty and valour, were maintained in the fervice, and at the private expence, of the general ". Their prowefs was always conspicuous in fingle combats, or in the foremost ranks; and both parties confessed, that in the fiege of Rome, the guards of Belifarius had alone vanquished the Barbarian host. Their numbers were continually augmented by the bravest and most faithful of the enemy; and his fortunate captives, the Vandals, the Moors, and the Goths, emulated the attachment of his domestic followers. By the union of liberality and justice. he acquired the love of the foldiers, without alienating the affections of the people. The fick and wounded were relieved with medicines and money; and still more efficaciously, by the healing vifits and fmiles of their commander. The loss of a weapon or an horse was instantly repaired, and each deed of valour was rewarded by the rich and honourable gifts of a bracelet or a collar, which were rendered more precious by the judgment of Belifarius. He was endeared to the husbandmen, by the peace and plenty which they enjoyed under the shadow of his standard. Instead of being injured, the country was en-

¹¹¹ Procopius, Goth. I. iii. c. 1. Aimoin, a French monk of the xith century, who had obtained, and has disfigured, some authentic information of Belisarius, mentions, in his name, 12,000 pueri or slaves—quos propriis alimus stipendiis—besides 18,000 soldiers (Historians of Francetom. iii. De Gestis Franc. I. ii. c. 6. p. 48.).

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CHAP. riched by the march of the Roman armies; and fuch was the rigid discipline of their camp, that not an apple was gathered from the tree, not a path could be traced in the fields of corn. farius was chafte and fober. In the licence of a military life, none could boaft that they had feen him intoxicated with wine: the most beautiful captives of Gothic or Vandal race were offered to his embraces; but he turned afide from their charms, and the husband of Antonina was never fuspected of violating the laws of conjugal fide-The spectator and historian of his exploits has observed, that amidst the perils of war, he was daring without rashness, prudent without fear, flow or rapid according to the exigences of the moment; that in the deepest distress, he was animated by real or apparent hope, but that he was modest and humble in the most prosperous for-By these virtues, he equalled or excelled the ancient mafters of the military art. Victory. by fea and land, attended his arms. He fubdued Africa, Italy, and the adjacent islands, led away captives the fucceffors of Genferic and Theodoric; filled Conftantinople with the spoils of their palaces, and in the space of fix years recovered half the provinces of the Western empire. In his fame and merit, in wealth and power, he remained, without a rival, the first of the Roman subjects: the voice of envy could only magnify his dangerous importance; and the Emperor might applaud his own discerning spirit which had discovered and raised the genius of Belilarius.

It was the custom of the Roman triumphs, that C H A P. a flave should be placed behind the chariot to remind the conqueror of the inftability of fortune, Secret his. and the infirmities of human nature. Procopius, tory of his wife An in his Anecdotes, has affirmed that fervile and tonina. ungrateful office. The generous reader may caft away the libel, but the evidence of facts will adhere to his memory; and he will reluctantly confess, that the fame, and even the virtue of Belifarius, were polluted by the luft and cruelty of his wife; and that the hero deferved an appellation which may not drop from the pen of the decent historian. The mother of Antonina 112 was a theatrical proftitute, and both her father and grandfather exercifed at Thefialonica and Conftantinople, the vile, though lucrative profession of charioteers. In the various situations of their fortune, she became the companion, the enemy, the fervant, and the favourite of the Empress Theodora; these loose and ambitious females had been connected by fimilar pleafures; they were separated by the jealousy of vice, and at length reconciled by the partnership of guilt. Before her marriage with Belifarius, Antonina had one husband and many lovers; Photius, the fon of her former nuptials, was of an age to diftinguish himself at the siege of Naples; and it was not till the autumn of her age and beauty 113 that

¹¹² The diligence of Alemannus could add but little to the four first and most curious chapters of the Anecdotes. Of these strange Anecdotes, a part may be true, because probable—and a part true, because improbable. Procopius must have known the former, and the latter he could scarcely invent.

113 Procopius infinuates (Anecdot. c.4.) that, when Belifarius returned to Italy (A.D. 543), Antonina was fixty years of age. A forced, but

XLL Her lover Theodofius.

C HAP. she indulged a scandalous attachment to a Thracian youth. Theodofius had been educated in the Eunomian herefy; the African voyage was confecrated by the baptism and auspicious name of the first foldier who embarked; and the proselyte was adopted into the family of his spiritual parents 114. Belifarius and Antonina. Before they touched the shores of Africa, this holy kindred degenerated into fenfual love; and as Antonina foon overleaped the bounds of modesty and caution, the Roman general was alone ignorant of his own dishonour. During their residence at Carthage, he furprifed the two lovers in a fubterraneous chamber, folitary, warm, and almost naked. Anger flashed from his eyes. "the help of this young man," faid the unblushing Antonina, "I was fecreting our most pre-"cious effects from the knowledge of Justinian." The youth refumed his garments, and the pious husband consented to disbelieve the evidence of his own fenfes. From this pleafing and perhaps voluntary delufion, Belifarius was awakened at Syracuse, by the officious information of Macedonia; and that female attendant, after requiring an oath for her fecurity, produced two chamberlains, who, like herfelf, had often beheld the adulteries of Antonina. An hafty flight into Asia saved Theodosius from the justice of an in-

> more polite conftruction, which refers that date to the moment when he was writing (A. D. 559), would be compatible with the manhood of Photius (Gothic. l. i. c. 10.) in 536.

> 114 Compare the Vandalic War (l. i. c. 12.) with the Anecdotes (c.i.) and Alemanus (p. 2, 3.). This mode of baptismal adoption was revived by Leo the philosopher.

iured husband, who had fignified to one of his CHAP. guards the order of his death; but the tears of XLL Antonina, and her artful feductions, affured the credulous hero of her innocence; and he flooped, against his faith and judgment, to abandon those imprudent friends who had presumed to accuse or doubt the chastity of his wife. The revenge of a guilty woman is implacable and bloody: the unfortunate Macedonia, with the two witnesses, were fecretly arrested by the minister of her cruelty: their tongues were cut out, their bodies were hacked into small pieces, and their remains were cast into the sea of Syracuse: A rash though judicious saying of Conftantine, " I would fooner have punished the " adultress than the boy," was deeply remembered by Antonina: and two years afterwards, when despair had armed that officer against his general, her fanguinary advice decided and haftened his execution. Even the indignation of Photius was not forgiven by his mother; the exile of her fon prepared the recal of her lover; and Theodofius condescended to accept the preffing and humble invitation of the conqueror of Italy. In the absolute direction of his household, and in the important commissions of peace and war 115, the favourite youth most rapidly acquired a fortune of four hundred thousand pounds fterling; and after their return to Conflantinople, the passion of Antonina, at least,

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¹¹⁵ In November 537, Photius arrested the pope (Liberat. Brev. c. 22. Pagi. tom. ii. p. 562.). About the end of 539, Belifarius sent Theodosius—τον τη οικίφ τη αυτω εφεςωτα—on an important and lucrative commission to Ravenna (Goth. l. ii. c. 18.).

CHAP continued ardent and unabated. But fear, devotion, and laffitude, perhaps, inspired Theodofius with more ferious thoughts. He dreaded the bufy fcandal of the capital, and the indifcreet fondness of the wife of Belisarius; escaped from her embraces, and retiring to Ephefus, shaved his head, and took refuge in the fanctuary of a monastic life. The despair of the new Ariadne could scarcely have been excused by the death of her husband. She wept, she tore her hair, she filled the palace with her cries; " fhe had loft the dearest of friends, a tender, a " faithful, a laborious friend!" But her warm entreaties, fortified by the prayers of Belifarius, were infufficient to draw the holy monk from the folitude of Ephefus. It was not till the general moved forward for the Persian war, that Theodofius could be tempted to return to Constantinople; and the short interval before the departure of Antonina herfelf was boldly devoted to love and pleafure.

Refentment of Belifarius and her fon Photius.

A philosopher may pity and forgive the infirmities of female nature, from which he receives no real injury; but contemptible is the husband who feels, and yet endures, his own infamy in that of his wife. Antonina purfued her fon with implacable hatred; and the gallant Photius 116 was exposed to her fecret perfecutions in the camp beyond the Tigris. Enraged by his own wrongs, and by the dishonour of his blood, he

¹¹⁶ Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 204.) Styles him Photinus, the fonin-law of Belisarius; and he is copied by the Historia Miscella and Anastasius.

cast away in his turn the sentiments of nature, CHAP. and revealed to Belifarius the turpitude of a woman who had violated all the duties of a mother and a wife. From the furprise and indignation of the Roman general, his former credulity appears to have been fincere: he embraced the knees of the fon of Antonina, adjured him to remember his obligations rather than his birth, and confirmed at the altar their holy vows of revenge and mutual defence. The dominion of Antonina was impaired by abfence; and when she met her husband, on his return from the Persian confines, Belifarius, in his first and transient emotions, confined her person, and threatened her life. Photius was more refolved to punish, and less prompt to pardon; he flew to Ephesus; extorted from a trufty eunuch of his mother the full confession of her guilt; arrested Theodosius and his treasures in the church of St. John the Apostle, and concealed his captives, whose execution was only delayed, in a fecure and fequeftered fortress of Cilicia. Such a daring outrage against public justice could not pass with impunity; and the cause of Antonina was espoused by the Empress, whose favour she had deserved by the recent fervices of the difgrace of a præfect, and the exile and murder of a pope. At the end of the campaign, Belifarius was recalled; he complied, as usual, with the Imperial mandate. His mind was not prepared for rebellion; his obedience, however adverse to the dictates of honour, was confonant to the wishes of his heart; and when he embraced his wife, at the command, and perCHAP. perhaps in the presence, of the Empress, the ten-

der husband was disposed to forgive or to be forgiven. The bounty of Theodora referved for her companion a more precious favour. "I have found," fhe faid, "my dearest patrician, a pearl " of inestimable value; it has not yet been viewed " by any mortal eye; but the fight and the pof-" fession of this jewel are destined for my friend." As foon as the curiofity and impatience of Antonina were kindled, the door of a bedchamber was thrown open, and she beheld her lover, whom the diligence of the eunuchs had difcovered in his fecret prison. Her filent wonder burst into passionate exclamations of gratitude and joy, and she named Theodora her queen, her benefactress, and her faviour. The monk of Ephefus was nourifhed in the palace with luxury and ambition; but inflead of affuming, as he was promifed, the command of the Roman armies, Theodofius expired in the first fatigues Perfecution of an amorous interview. The grief of Antonina could only be affuaged by the fufferings of her fon. A youth of confular rank, and a fiekly constitution, was punished, without a trial, like a malefactor and a flave: yet fuch was the constancy of his mind, that Photius sustained the tortures of the scourge and the rack, without violating the faith which he had fworn to Belifarius. After this fruitless cruelty, the son of Antonina, while his mother feafted with the Empress, was buried in her fubterraneous prisons, which admitted not the diffinction of night and day. twice escaped to the most venerable sanctuaries of

of Constantinople, the churches of St. Sophia CHAP. and of the Virgin: but his tyrants were infenfible of religion as of pity; and the helpless youth, amidst the clamours of the clergy and people, was twice dragged from the altar to the dungeon. His third attempt was more fuccessful. end of three years, the prophet Zacharia, or some mortal friend, indicated the means of an escape: he eluded the spies and guards of the Emprefs, reached the holy fepulchre of Jerusalem, embraced the profession of a monk; and the abbot Photius was employed, after the death of Justinian, to reconcile and regulate the churches of Egypt. The fon of Antonina fuffered all that an enemy can inflict: her patient husband imposed on himself the more exquisite misery of violating his promife and deferting his friend.

In the fucceeding campaign, Belifarius was Difgrace again fent against the Persians: he saved the and sub-East, but he offended Theodora, and perhaps the Belisarius. Emperor himself. The malady of Justinian had countenanced the rumour of his death; and the Roman general, on the supposition of that probable event, fpoke the free language of a citizen and a foldier. His colleague Buzes, who concurred in the same sentiments, lost his rank, his liberty, and his health, by the perfecution of the Empress: but the disgrace of Belisarius was alleviated by the dignity of his own character, and the influence of his wife, who might wish to humble, but could not defire to ruin, the partner of her fortunes. Even his removal was coloured by the affurance, that the finking state

C H A P. of Italy would be retrieved by the fingle presence of its conqueror. But no fooner had he returned, alone and defenceless, than an hostile commission was fent to the East, to seize his treasures and criminate his actions; the guards and veterans who followed his private banner, were distributed among the chiefs of the army, and even the eunuchs prefumed to cast lots for the partition of his martial domestics. When he passed with a finall and fordid retinue through the streets of Conftantinople, his forlorn appearance excited the amazement and compassion of the people. Juftinian and Theodora received him with cold ingratitude; the fervile crowd, with infolence and contempt; and in the evening he retired with trembling steps to his deferted palace. indifposition, feigned or real, had confined Antonina to her apartment: and she walked difdainfully filent in the adjacent portico, while Belifarius threw himfelf on his bed, and expected, in an agony of grief and terror, the death which he had so often braved under the walls of Rome. Long after fun-fet a meffenger was announced from the Empress; he opened, with anxious curiofity, the letter which contained the fentence of his fate. "You cannot be ignorant how much " you have deferved my displeasure. I am not " infensible of the services of Antonina. To her " merits and intercession I have granted your " life, and permit you to retain a part of your treasures, which might be justly forfeited to the " ftate. Let your gratitude, where it is due, " be displayed, not in words, but in your future " beha-

behaviour." I know not how to believe or to CHAP. relate the transports with which the hero is faid to have received this ignominious pardon. He fell proftrate before his wife, he kiffed the feet of his faviour, and he devoutly promifed to live the grateful and submissive slave of Antonina. fine of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds fterling was levied on the fortunes of Belifarius; and with the office of count, or mafter of the royal stables, he accepted the conduct of the Italian war. At his departure from Conftantinople, his friends, and even the public, were perfunded, that as foon as he regained his freedom, he would renounce his diffimulation, and that his wife, Theodora, and perhaps the Emperor himfelf, would be facrificed to the just revenge of a virtuous rebel. Their hopes were deceived; and the unconquerable patience and loyalty of Belifarius appear either below or above the character of a MAN 117.

¹⁷ The continuator of the chronicle of Marcellinus gives, in a few decent words, the fubflance of the Anecdotes: Belifarius de Oriente evocatus, in offensam periculumque incurrens grave, et envidiæ subjacens rursus remittitur in Italiam (p. 54.).

CHAP. XLII.

State of the Barbaric World. - Establishment of the Lombards on the Danube. - Tribes and Inroads of the Sclavonians. - Origin, Empire, and Embassies of the Turks.—The Flight of the Avars.—Chofroes I. or Nushirvan King of Perfia .- His prosperous Reign and Wars with the Romans.—The Cholchian or Lazic War.—The Æthiopians.

Weakness of the empire of Justinian, A.D. 527-565.

CHAP. OUR estimate of personal merit is relative to the common faculties of mankind. aspiring efforts of genius, or virtue, either in active or speculative life, are measured, not so much by their real elevation, as by the height to which they ascend above the level of their age or country: and the same stature, which in a people of giants would pass unnoticed, must appear confpicuous in a race of pygmies. Leonidas, and his three hundred companions, devoted their lives at Thermopylæ; but the education of the infant, the boy, and the man, had prepared, and almost ensured, this memorable facrifice; and each Spartan would approve, rather than admire, an act of duty, of which himself and eight thoufand of his fellow citizens were equally capable.

It will be a pleafure, not a task, to read Herodotus (l. vii. c. 104. 134. p. 550. 615.). The conversation of Xerxes and Demaratus at Thermopylæ is one of the most interesting and moral scenes in history. It was the torture of the royal Spartan to behold, with anguish and remorfe, the virtue of his country.

The great Pompey might inscribe on his trophies, CHAP. that he had defeated in battle two millions of enemies, and reduced fifteen hundred cities from the lake Mæotis to the Red Sea2: but the fortune of Rome flew before his eagles; the nations were oppressed by their own fears, and the invincible legions which he commanded, had been formed by the habits of conquest and the discipline of ages. In this view, the character of Belifarius may be defervedly placed above the heroes of the ancient republics. His imperfections flowed from the contagion of the times; his virtues were his own, the free gift of nature or reflection; he raifed himself without a master or a rival; and so inadequate were the arms committed to his hand, that his fole advantage was derived from the pride and prefumption of his adversaries. Under his command, the subjects of Justinian often deferved to be called Romans: but the unwarlike appellation of Greeks was imposed as a term of reproach by the haughty Goths; who affected to blush, that they must dispute the kingdom of Italy with a nation of tragedians, pantomimes, and pirates. The climate of Afia has indeed been found less congenial than that of Europe, to military spirit: those populous countries were enervated by luxury, defpotifm, and superstition; and

² See this proud inscription in Pliny (Hist. Natur. vii. 27.). Few men have more exquisitely tasted of glory and disgrace; nor could Juvenal (Satir. x.) produce a more striking example of the vicissitudes of fortune, and the vanity of human wishes.

³ Τραικες εξ ων τα προτερα εδενα ες Ιταλιαν ήκοντα ειδον, οτι μη τραγωδες, και ναυτας λυποδυτας. This last epithet of Procopius is too nobly translated by pirates; naval thieves is the proper word: strippers of garments, either for injury or insult (Demosthenes contra Conon. in Reiske Orator. Græc. tom. ii. p. 1264.).

CHAP. the monks were more expensive and more numerous than the foldiers of the East. The regular force of the empire had once amounted to fix hundred and forty-five thousand men: it was reduced, in the time of Justinian, to one hundred and fifty thousand; and this number, large as it may feem, was thinly fcattered over the fea and land; in Spain and Italy, in Africa and Egypt, on the banks of the Danube, the coast of the Euxine, and the frontiers of Persia. The citizen was exhaufted, yet the foldier was unpaid; his poverty was mischievously soothed by the privilege of rapine and indolence; and the tardy payments were detained and intercepted by the fraud of those agents who usurp, without courage or danger, the emoluments of war. Public and private diffress recruited the armies of the flate; but in the field, and still more in the presence of the enemy, their numbers were always defective. The want of national spirit was supplied by the precarious faith and diforderly fervice of Barbarian mercenaries. Even military honour, which has often furvived the lofs of virtue and freedom, was almost totally extinct. The generals, who were multiplied beyond the example of former times, laboured only to prevent the fuccess, or to fully the reputation of their colleagues; and they had been taught by experience, that if merit fometimes provoked the jealoufy, error, or even guilt, would obtain the indulgence, of a gracious emperor4. In fuch an age

⁴ See the third and fourth books of the Gothic War: the writer of the Anecdotes cannot aggravate these abuses.

the triumphs of Belifarius, and afterwards of CHAP. Narfes, fhine with incomparable luftre; but they XLII. are encompassed with the darkest shades of difgrace and calamity. While the lieutenant of Justinian subdued the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals, the Emperor 5, timid, though ambitious, balanced the forces of the barbarians, fomented their divisions by flattery and falsehood, and invited by his patience and liberality the repetition of injuries . The keys of Carthage, Rome, and Ravenna, were prefented to their conqueror, while Antioch was deftroyed by the Perfians, and Justinian trembled for the safety of Constantinople.

Even the Gothic victories of Belifarius were State of prejudicial to the state, fince they abolished the the Barbaimportant barrier of the Upper Danube, which had been fo faithfully guarded by Theodoric and his daughter. For the defence of Italy, the Goths evacuated Pannonia and Noricum, which they left in a peaceful and flourishing condition: the fovereignty was claimed by the Emperor of the Romans; the actual possession was abandoned to the boldness of the first invader. On the opposite banks of the Danube, the plains of Upper Hungary and the Tranfylvanian hills were possessed, fince the death of Attila, by the tribes

⁵ Agathias, I. 5. p. 157, 158. He confines this weakness of the Emperor and the empire to the old age of Justinian; but alas! he was never young.

⁶ This mischievous policy which Procopius (Anecdot. c. 19.) imputes to the Emperor, is revealed in his epiftle to a Scythian prince, who was capable of understanding it. Αγαν προμπθη και αγχινες ατο; says Agathias (l. v. p. 170, 171.).

The Gepidæ.

CHAP, of the Gepidæ, who respected the Gothic arms, and despised, not indeed the gold of the Romans, but the fecret motive of their annual fubfidies. The vacant fortifications of the river were instantly occupied by these Barbarians: their standards were planted on the walls of Sirmium and Belgrade; and the ironical tone of their apology aggravated this infult on the majesty of the empire. "So extensive, O Cæsar, are your domi-" nions; fo numerous are your cities; that you " are continually feeking for nations to whom, " either in peace of war, you may relinquish "these useless possessions. The Gepidæ are your brave and faithful allies; and if they have " anticipated your gifts, they have shewn a just " confidence in your bounty." Their prefumption was excused by the mode of revenge which Justinian embraced. Instead of afferting the rights of a fovereign for the protection of his fubjects, the Emperor invited a strange people to invade and possess the Roman provinces between the Danube and the Alps; and the ambition of the Gepidæ was checked by the rifing The Lom- power and fame of the LOMBARDS 7. This corrupt appellation has been diffused in the thirteenth century by the merchants and bankers,

bards.

⁷ Gens Germana feritate ferociore, fays Velleius Paterculus of the Lombards (ii. 106.). Langobardos paucitas nobilitat. Plurimis ac valentiffimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium sed præliis et periclitando tuti sunt (Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 40.). See likewise Strabo. (1. vii. p. 446.). The best geographers place them beyond the Elbe, in. the bishopric of Magdeburgh and the middle march of Brandenburgh; and their fituation will agree with the patriotic remark of the Count de. Hertzberg, that most of the Barbarian conquerors issued from the same countries which still produce the armies of Prussia,

the Italian posterity of these savage warriors: but C H A P. the original name of Langobards is expressive only of the peculiar length and fashion of their beards. I am not disposed either to question or to justify their Scandinavian origin *; nor to purfue the migrations of the Lombards through unknown regions and marvellous adventures. About the time of Augustus and Trajan, a ray of historic light breaks on the darkness of their antiquities, and they are discovered, for the first time, between the Elbe and the Oder. Fierce, beyond the example of the Germans, they delighted to propagate the tremendous belief, that their heads were formed like the heads of dogs, and that they drank the blood of their enemies whom they vanquished in battle. The smallness of their numbers was recruited by the adoption of their bravest slaves; and alone, amidst their powerful neighbours, they defended by arms their highspirited independence. In the tempests of the north, which overwhelmed fo many names and nations, this little bark of the Lombards still floated on the furface: they gradually descended towards the fouth and the Danube; and at the end of four hundred years they again appear with their ancient valour and renown. Their manners were not less ferocious. The affaffination of a royal guest was executed in the pre-

⁸ The Scandinavian origin of the Goths and Lombards, as ftated by Paul Warnefrid, furnamed the deacon, is attacked by Cluverius (Germania Antiq. I. iii. c. 26. p. 102, &c.), a native of Pruffia, and defended by Grotius (Prolegom. ad Hiff. Goth. p. 28. &c.), the Swedish ambaffador.

CHAP fence, and by the command, of the king's daughter, who had been provoked by fome words of infult, and disappointed by his diminutive stature; and a tribute, the price of blood, was imposed on the Lombards, by his brother the King of the Heruli. Adversity revived a fense of moderation and justice, and the insolence of conquest was chastised by the signal defeat and irreparable dispersion of the Heruli, who were feated in the fouthern provinces of Poland. The victories of the Lombards recommended them to the friendship of the Emperors; and at the folicitation of Justinian, they passed the Danube, to reduce, according to their treaty, the cities of Noricum and the fortreffes of Pannonia. But the spirit of rapine soon tempted them beyond these ample limits; they wandered along the coast of the Hadriatic as far as Dyrrachium, and prefumed, with familiar rudeness, to enter the towns and houses of their Roman allies, and to feize the captives who had escaped from their audacious hands. These acts of hostility, the fallies, as it might be pretended, of some loose adventurers, were difowned by the nation, and excufed by the Emperor; but the arms of the Lombards were more feriously engaged by a contest of thirty years, which was terminated only by the extirpation of the Gepidæ. The hoffile nations often pleaded their cause before the throne

Two facts in the narrative of Paul Diaconus (l. i. c. 20.) are expreffive of national manners: 1. Dum ad tabulam luderet—while he played at draughts. 2. Camporum viridantia lina. The cultivation of Hax supposes property, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures.

of Constantinople; and the crafty Justinian, to CHAP. whom the Barbarians were almost equally odious. XLII. pronounced a partial and ambiguous fentence. and dextroufly protracted the war by flow and ineffectual fuccours. Their ftrength was formidable, fince the Lombards, who fent into the fields feveral myriads of foldiers, still claimed, as the weaker fide, the protection of the Romans. Their spirit was intrepid; yet such is the uncertainty of courage, that the two armies were fuddenly struck with a panic; they fled from each other, and the rival kings remained with their guards in the midft of an empty plain. A short truce was obtained; but their mutual refentment again kindled; and the remembrance of their shame rendered the next encounter more desperate and bloody. Forty thousand of the Barbarians perished in the decifive battle, which broke the power of the Gepidæ, transferred the fears and wishes of Justinian, and first displayed the character of Alboin, the youthful prince of the Lombards, and the future conqueror of Italy 19.

The wild people who dwelt or wandered in The Sclathe plains of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, vonians, might be reduced, in the age of Justinian, under the two great families of the Bulgarians " and

10 I have used, without undertaking to reconcile, the facts in Procopius (Goth. l. ii. c. 14. l. iii. c. 33, 34. l. iv. c. 18. 25.), Paul Diaconus (de Gestis Langobard. l. i. c. 1-23. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. p. 405-419.), and Jornandes, (de Success. Regnorum, p. 242.). The patient reader may draw some light from Mascou (Hist. of the Germans, and Annotat. xxiii.) and de Buat (Hift. des Peuples, &c. tom. ix. x. xi.).

" I adopt the appellation of Bulgarians, from Ennodius (in Panegyr. Theodorici, Opp. Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1598, 1599.), Jornandes (de XLII.

EHAP. the SCLAVONIANS. According to the Greek writers, the former, who touched the Euxine and the lake Mæotis, derived from the Huns their name or descent; and it is needless to renew the fimple and well-known picture of Tartar manners. They were bold and dextrous archers. who drank the milk and feasted on the flesh of their fleet and indefatigable horses; whose flocks and herds followed, or rather guided, the motions of their roving camps; to whose inroads no country was remote or impervious, and who were practifed in flight, though incapable of fear. The nation was divided into two powerful and hoffile tribes, who purfued each other with fraternal hatred. They eagerly disputed the friendship or rather the gifts of the Emperor; and the diftinction which nature had fixed between the faithful dog and the rapacious wolf, was applied by an ambaffador who received only verbal inftructions from the mouth of hisilliterate prince 12. The Bulgarians, of whatfoever species, were equally attracted by Roman wealth: they affumed a vague dominion over the Sclavonian name, and their rapid marches could only be stopped by the Baltic sea, or the extreme cold and poverty of the north. But the same race of Sclavonians appears to have maintained, in every

> Rebus Geticis, c. 5. p. 194. ed. de Regn. Succeffione, p. 242.), Theophane (p. 185.), and the Chronicles of Cassiodorius and Marcellinus. The name of Huns is too vague; the tribes of the Cutturgurians and Utturgurians are too minute and too harsh.

Procopius (Goth. I. iv. c. 19.). His verbal message (he owns himfelf an illiterate Barbarian) is delivered as an epiftle. The ftyle is favage, figurative, and original.

age, the possession of the same countries. Their CHAP. numerous tribes, however distant or adverse, used . XLII. one common language (it was harsh and irregular), and were known by the refemblance of their form, which deviated from the fwarthy Tartar, and approached without attaining the lofty stature and fair complexion of the German. Four thousand fix hundred villages 13 were scattered over the provinces of Ruffia and Poland, and their huts were haftily built of rough timber, in a country deficient both in stone and iron. Erected, or rather concealed in the depth of forests, on the banks of rivers, or the edge of moraffes, we may not perhaps, without flattery, compare them to the architecture of the beaver; which they resembled in a double issue, to the land and water, for the escape of the savage inhabitants, an animal less cleanly, less diligent, and lefs focial, than that marvellous quadrupede. The fertility of the foil, rather than the labour of the natives, supplied the rustic plenty of the Sclavonians. Their sheep and horned cattle were large and numerous, and the fields which they fowed with millet and panic 14, afforded, in the place of bread, a coarse and less nutritive

73 This fum is the refult of a particular lift, in a curious MS. fragment of the year 550, found in the library of Milan. The obscure geography of the times provokes and exercises the patience of the Count De Buat (tom, xi. p. 69—189.). The French minister often loses himself in a wilderness which requires a Saxon and Polish guide.

14 Panicum milium. See Columella, I. ii. c. o. p. 430. edit. Gener. Plin. Hift. Natur. xviii. 24, 25. The Sarmatians made a pap of millet, mingled with mare's milk or blood. In the wealth of modern hufbandry, our millet feeds poultry, and not heroes. See the dictionaries of Bomare and Milles.

С н д р. food. The incessant rapine of their neighbours compelled them to bury this treasure in the earth; but on the appearance of a stranger, it was freely imparted by a people, whose unfavourable character is qualified by the epithets of chaste, patient, and hospitable. As their fupreme god, they adored an invifible mafter of the thunder. The rivers and the nymphs obtained their fubordinate honours, and the popular worship was expressed in vows and facrifice. The Sclavonians difdained to obey a defpot, a prince, or even a magistrate; but their experience was too narrow, their paffions too headstrong, to compose a system of equal law or general defence. Some voluntary respect was yielded to age and valour; but each tribe or village existed as a separate republic, and all must be persuaded where none could be compelled. They fought on foot, almost naked, and, except an unwieldy shield, without any defenfive armour: their weapons of offence were a bow, a quiver of small poisoned arrows, and a long rope, which they dextroully threw from a distance, and entangled their enemy in a running noofe. In the field, the Sclavonian infantry was dangerous by their speed, agility, and hardiness: they swam, they dived, they remained under water, drawing their breath through a hollow cane; and a river or lake was often the scene of their unsuspected ambuscade. But these were the atchievements of spies or stragglers; the military art was unknown to the Sclavonians;,

nians: their name was obscure, and their con- C H A P. quests were inglorious 15.

I have marked the faint and general outline of Theirinthe Sclavonians and Bulgarians, without attempt- roads. ing to define their immediate boundaries, which were not accurately known or respected by the Barbarians themselves. Their importance was measured by their vicinity to the empire; and the level country of Moldavia and Walachia was occupied by the Antes 15, a Sclavonian tribe, which swelled the titles of Justinian with an epithet of conquest. Against the Antes he erected the fortifications of the Lower Danube; and laboured to secure the alliance of a people seated in the direct channel of northern inundation, an interval of two hundred miles between the mountains of Transylvania and the Euxine fea. But the Antes wanted power and inclination to flem the fury of the torrent: and the light armed Sclavonians, from an hundred tribes, purfued with almost equal speed the sootsteps of the Bulgarian

¹⁵ For the name and nation, the fituation and manners, of the Sclavonians, fee the original evidence of the vith century, in Procopius (Goth. Lii. c. 26. l.iii. c. 14.) and the Emperor Mauritius or Maurice (Stratagemat. l. ii. c. 5. apud Mascou, Annotat. xxxi.). The Stratagems of Maurice have been printed only, as I understand, at the end of Scheffer's edition of Arrian's Tactics, at Upfal, 1664 (Fabric. Bibliot, Greec. 1. iv. c. 8. tom. iii. p. 278.), a scarce, and hitherto, to me, an inaccessible book.

Antes eorum fortiffimi Taylis qui rapidus et vorticolus in Histri fluenta furens devolvitur (Jornandes, c. 5. p. 194. edit. Murator. Procopius. Goth. l. iii. c. 14. et de Edific. l. iv. c.7.). Yet the fame Procopius mentions the Goths and Huns as neighbours, yerroverra, to the Danube (de Edific. l.iv. c.i.).

¹⁷ The national title of Anticus, in the laws and inscriptions of Juftinian, was adopted by his fuccessors, and is justified by the pious Ludewig (in Vit. Justinian, p. 515.). It had strangely puzzled the civilians of the middle age.

CHAP. horse. The payment of one piece of gold for each foldier, procured a fafe and eafy retreat through the country of the Gepidæ, who commanded the paffage of the Upper Danubers. The hopes or fears of the Barbarians; their intestine union or discord; the accident of a frozen or shallow stream; the prospect of harvest or vintage; the prosperity or distress of the Romans; were the causes which produced the uniform repetition of annual visits 19, tedious in the narrative, and destructive in the event. The same year, and possibly the same month, in which Ravenna furrendered, was marked by an invafion of the Huns or Bulgarians, so dreadful, that it almost effaced the memory of their past inroads. They fpread from the suburbs of Constantinople to the Ionian gulph, deftroyed thirty-two cities or castles, erazed Potidæa, which Athens had built and Philip had befieged, and repassed the Danube, dragging at their horses heels one hundred and twenty thousand of the subjects of Justinian. a subsequent inroad they pierced the wall of the Thracian Chersonesus, extirpated the habitations and the inhabitants, boldly traverfed the Hellefpont, and returned to their companions, laden with the spoils of Asia. Another party, which feemed a multitude in the eyes of the Romans. penetrated, without opposition, from the streights of Thermopylæ to the ifthmus of Corinth; and the last ruin of Greece has appeared an object

²⁸ Procopius, Goth. I. iv. c. 25.

¹⁹ An inroad of the Huns is connected, by Procopius, with a comet; perhaps that of 531 (Perfic. l. ii. c. 4.). Agathias (l. v. p. 154, 155.) horrows from his predecessor some early facts.

too minute for the attention of history. The CHAP. works which the Emperor raifed for the protection, but at the expence, of his fubiects, ferved only to disclose the weakness of some neglected part; and the walls, which by flattery had been deemed impregnable, were either deferted by the garrison, or scaled by the Barbarians. thousand Sclavonians, who infolently divided themselves into two bands, discovered the weakness and misery of a triumphant reign. They passed the Danube and the Hebrus, vanquished the Roman generals who dared to oppose their progrefs, and plundered, with impunity, the cities of Illyricum and Thrace, each of which had arms and numbers to overwhelmn their contemptible affailants. Whatever praife the boldness of the Sclavonians may deferve, it is fullied by the wanton and deliberate cruelty which they are accused of exercising on their prisoners. Without distinction of rank, or age, or fex, the captives were impaled or flayed alive, or fuspended between four posts, and beaten with clubs till they expired, or inclosed in some spacious building, and left to perish in the flames with the spoil and cattle which might impede the march of these savage victors 20. Perhaps a more impartial narrative would reduce the number, and qualify the nature, of these horrid acts; and they might fometimes be excufed by the cruel laws of re-

taliation.

²⁰ The cruelties of the Sclavonians are related or magnified by Procopius (Goth. l. iii. c. 29. 38.). For their mild and liberal behaviour to their prisoners, we may appeal to the authority, somewhat more recent, of the Emperor Maurice (Stratagem. l. ii. c. 5.).

С н A P. taliation. In the fiege of Topirus 21, whose obstinate defence had enraged the Sclavonians, they maffacred fifteen thousand males; but they spared the women and children; the most valuable captives were always referved for labour or ranfom; the fervitude was not rigorous, and the terms of their deliverance were speedy and mode-But the subject, or the historian of Justinian, exhaled his just indignation in the language of complaint and reproach; and Procopius has confidently affirmed, that in a reign of thirty-two years, each annual inroad of the Barbarians confumed two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of the Roman empire. The entire population of Turkish Europe, which nearly corresponds with the provinces of Justinian, would perhaps be incapable of supplying fix millions of perfons, the refult of this incredible estimate 22.

Origin and monarchy of the Turks in Afia. A.D. 545, &c.

In the midst of these obscure calamities, Europe felt the shock of a revolution, which first revealed to the world the name and nation of the Like Romulus, the founder of that TURKS. martial people was fuckled by a fhe wolf, who afterwards made him the farther of a numerous progeny; and the representation of that animal in the banners of the Turks preserved the memory, or rather fuggested the idea, of a fable, which was invented, without any mutual intercourse, by

²¹ Topirus was fituate near Phillippi in Thrace, or Macedonia, oppofite to the ifle of Thasos, twelve days' journey from Constantinople (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 676. 840.).

²² According to the malevolent testimony of the Anecdotes (c. 18.), these inroads had reduced the provinces south of the Danube to the state of a Scythian wilderness.

thre shepherds of Latium and those of Scythia. CHAP. At the equal distance of two thousand miles from the Caspian, the Icy, the Chinese, and the Bengal feas, a ridge of mountains is conspicuous, the centre, and perhaps the fummit, of Afia; which, in the language of different nations, has been ftyled Imaus, and Caf²³, and Altai, and the Golden Mountains, and the Girdle of the Earth. The fides of the hills were productive of minerals; and the iron forges 24, for the purpose of war, were exercifed by the Turks, the most despifed portion of the flaves of the great khan of the Geougen. But their fervitude could only last till a leader, bold and eloquent, should arise, to perfuade his countrymen that the fame arms which they forged for their mafters, might become, in their own hands, the instruments of freedom and victory. They fallied from the mountain 25; a

²³ From Caf to Caf; which a more rational geography would interpret, from Imaus, perhaps, to Mount Atlas. According to the religious philosophy of the Mahometans, the basis of Mount Caf is an emerald, whose reflection produces the azure of the sky. The mountain is endowed with a sensitive action in its roots or nerves; and their vibration, at the command of God, is the cause of earthquakes (D'Herbelot, p. 230, 231.).

The Siberian iron is the best and most plentiful in the world; and in the southern parts, above fixty mines are now worked by the industry of the Russians (Strahlenberg. Hist. of Siberia, p. 342. 387. Voyage en Siberie, par l'Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, p. 603—608. edit. in 12100. Amsterdam, 1770.). The Turks offered iron for sale; yet the Roman ambassadors, with strange obstinacy, persisted in believing that it was all a trick, and that their country produced none (Menander in Excerpt. Leg. p. 1522.).

²⁵ Of Irgana-kon (Abulgahzi Khan, Hift. Genealogique des Tatars, P. ii. c. 5. p. 71—77. c. 15. p. 155.). The tradition of the Moguls, of the 450 years which they passed in the mountains, agrees with the Chinese periods of the history of the Huns and Turks (De Guignes, tom. i part ii. p. 376.), and the twenty generations, from their restoration to Zingis.

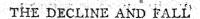
<u>fceptre</u>

XLII.

CHAP. sceptre was the reward of his advice; and the annual ceremony, in which a piece of iron was heated in the fire, and a fmith's hammer was fucceffively handled by the prince and his nobles, recorded for ages the humble profession and rational pride of the Turkish nation. Bertezena, their first leader, signalized their valour and his own in fuccessful combats against the neighbouring tribes; but when he prefumed to ask in marriage the daughter of the great khan, the infolent demand of a flave and a mechanic was contemptuously rejected. The difgrace was expiated by a more noble alliance with a princess of China; and the decifive battle which almost extirpated the nation of the Geougen, established in Tartary the new and more powerful empire of the Turks. They reigned over the north; but they confessed the vanity of conquest, by their faithful attachment to the mountain of their fathers. royal encampment feldom loft fight of Mount Altai, from whence the river Irtish descends to water the rich pastures of the Calmucks 26, which nourish the largest sheep and oxen in the world. The foil is fruitful, and the climate mild and temperate: the happy region was ignorant of earthquake and pestilence; the emperor's throne was turned towards the eaft, and a golden wolf on the top of a spear seemed to guard the entrance of his tent. One of the fucceffors of Bertezena

²⁶ The country of the Turks, now of the Calmucks, is well described in the Genealogical Hiftory, p. 521-562. The curious notes of the French translator are enlarged and digested in the second volume of the English version.

was tempted by the luxury and superstition of CHAP. China: but his defign of building cities and temples was defeated by the fimple wildom of a Barbarian counsellor. "The Turks," he faid, " are " not equal in number to one hundredth part of "the inhabitants of China. If we balance their " power, and elude their armies, it is because we " wander without any fixed habitations, in the " exercise of war and hunting. Are we strong? " we advance and conquer: are we feeble; we "retire and are concealed. Should the Turks. " confine themselves within the walls of cities. " the lofs of a battle would be the deftruction of "their empire. The Bonzes preach only pa-"tience, humility, and the renunciation of the "world. Such, O king! is not the religion of heroes." They entertained, with less reluctance, the doctrines of Zoroaster; but the greatest part of the nation acquiefced, without inquiry, in the opinions, or rather in the practice, of their ancestors. The honours of sacrifice were reserved for the fupreme deity; they acknowledged, in rude hymns, their obligations to the air, the fire, the water, and the earth; and their priefts derived fome profit from the art of divination. Their unwritten laws were rigorous and impartial: theft was punished by a tenfold restitution: adultery, treason, and murder, with death: and no chastisement could be inflicted too severe for the rare and inexpiable guilt of cowardice. As the subject nations marched under the standard of the Turks, their cavalry, both men and horses, were proudly computed by millions; one of their effective



effective armies confifted of four hundred thou fand foldiers, and in less than fifty years they were connected in peace and war with the Romans, the Perfians, and the Chinese. In their northern limits, some vestige may be discovered of the form and fituation of Kamtchatka, of a people of hunters and fishermen, whose sledges were drawn by dogs, and whose habitations were buried in the earth. The Turks were ignorant of aftronomy; but the observation taken by some learned Chinese, with a gnomon of eight feet, fixes the royal camp in the latitude of forty-nine degrees, and marks their extreme progrefs within three, or at least ten degrees, of the polar circle 27. Among their fouthern conquests, the most splendid was that of the Nepthalites or white Huns, a polite and warlike people, who poffeffed the commercial cities of Bochara and Samarcand. who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks. and perhaps to the mouth, of the Indus. On the fide of the west, the Turkish cavalry advanced to the lake Mæotis. They passed that lake on the ice. The khan who dwelt at the foot of · Mount Altai, iffued his commands for the fiege of Bosphorus28, a city, the voluntary subject of Rome, and whose princes had formerly been the friends

²⁷ Visidelou, p. 141. 151. The fact, though it strictly belongs to a subordinate and successive tribe may be introduced here.

²⁸ Procopius Perfic. l. i. c. 12. l. ii. c. 3. Peyffonnel (Observations fur les Peuples Barbares, p. 99, 100.) defines the diffance between Caffa and the old Bosphorus at xvi long Tartar leagues.

Athens29. To the east, the Turks invaded China, CHAP. as often as the vigour of the government was, relaxed: and I am taught to read in the hiftory of the times, that they moved down their patient enemies like hemp or grafs; and that the mandarins applauded the wifdom of an emperor who repulfed these Barbarians with golden lances. This extent of favage empire compelled the Turkish monarch to establish three subordinate princes of his own blood, who foon forgot their gratitude and allegiance. The conquerors were enervated by luxury, which is always fatal. except to an industrious people; the policy of China folicited the vanquished nations to resume their independence; and the power of the Turks was limited to a period of two hundred years. The revival of their name and dominion in the fouthern countries of Asia, are the events of a later age; and the dynasties, which succeeded to their native realms, may fleep in oblivion; fince their history bears no relation to the decline and fall of the Roman empire 30.

In the rapid career of conquest, the Turks at- The Avars tacked and fubdued the nation of the Ogors or fly before Varchonites on the banks of the river Til, which and ap-

the Turks, proach the empire.

29 See, in a Memoir of M. de Boze (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions tom. vi. p. 549-565.), the ancient kings and medals of the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the gratitude of Athens, in the Oration of Demosthenes against Leptines (in Reiske, Orator. Græc. tom. i. p. 466.467.).

30 For the origin and revolutions of the first Turkish empire, the Chinese details are borrowed from De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. P. ii. p. 367-462.) and Visidelou (Supplement à la Bibliotheque Orient. d'Herbelot, p. 82-114. The Greek or Roman hints are gathered in Menander (p. 108-164.) and Theophylact Simeratta (l. vii. c. 7, 8.).

CHAP. derived the epithet of black from its dark water or gloomy forests 31. The khan of the Ogors was flain with three hundred thousand of his fubjects, and their bodies were fcattered over the space of four days journey; their surviving countrymen acknowledged the ftrength and mercy of the Turks; and a small portion, about twenty thousand warriors, preferred exile to fervitude. They followed the well-known road of the Volga, cherished the error of the nations who confounded them with the Avars, and spread the terror of that falle though famous appellation, which had not, however, faved its lawful proprietors from the yoke of the Turks 32. After a long and victorious march, the new Avars arrived at the foot of Mount Caucasus, in the country of the Alani 33 and Circaflians, where they first heard of the splendour and weakness of the Roman empire. They humbly requested their confederate, the Prince of the Alani, to lead them to this fource of riches; and their ambaffador, with the permiffion of the governor of Lazica, was transported by the Euxine sea to

Conftan-

³¹ The river Til, or Tula, according to the geography of De Guignes, (tom. i. part ii. p. lviii. and 352.) is a fmall though grateful stream of the defert, that falls into the Orhon, Selinga, &c. See Bell, Journey from Petersburgh to Pekin (vol. ii. p. 124.); yet his own description of the Keat, down which he failed into the Oby, represents the name and attributes of the black river (p. 139.).

³² Theophylact, l. vii. c. 7, 8.- And yet his true Avars are invifible even to the eyes of M. de Guignes; and what can be more illustrious than the false? The right of the fugitive Ogors to that national appellation is confessed by the Turks themselves (Menander, p. 108.).

³³ The Alani are still found in the Genealogical History of the Tartars (p. 617.), and in D'Anville's maps. They opposed the march of the generals of Zingis round the Caspian sea, and were overthrown in a great battle (Hist. de Gengiscan, l. iv. c. 9. p. 447.).

Constantinople. The whole city was poured CHAP. forth to behold with curiofity and terror the aspect of a strange people; their long hair, which hung in treffes down their backs, was gracefully bound with ribbons, but the rest of their habit appeared to imitate the fashion of the Huns. When they were admitted to the audience of Their em-Justinian, Candish, the first of the ambassadors, bassy to Constanaddressed the Roman emperor in these terms: tinople, You fee before you, O mighty Prince, the re- A.D. 55%. " prefentatives of the strongest and most popu-" lous of nations, the invincible, the irrefiftible "Avars. We are willing to devote ourselves to " your fervice: we are able to vanquish and deftroy all the enemies who now diffurb your " repose. But we expect, as the price of our " alliance, as the reward of our valour, precious " gifts, annual fubfidies, and fruitful possessions." At the time of this embaffy, Justinian had reigned above thirty, he had lived above feventy-five years: his mind, as well as his body, was feeble and languid; and the conqueror of Africa and Italy, careless of the permanent interest of his people, aspired only to end his days in the bosom even of inglorious peace. In a fludied oration, he imparted to the fenate his resolution to diffemble the infult, and to purchase the friendship of the Avars; and the whole fenate, like the mandarins of China, applauded the incomparable wifdom and forefight of their fovereign. The instruments of luxury were immediately prepared to captivate the Barbarians; filken garments, foft and fplendid beds, and chains and collars incrufted

CHAP. incrusted with gold. The ambassadors, content with fuch liberal reception, departed from Constantinople, and Valentin, one of the Emperor's guards, was fent with a fimilar character to their camp at the foot of Mount Caucasus. As their destruction or their success must be alike advantageous to the empire, he perfuaded them to invade the enemies of Rome; and they were eafily tempted, by gifts and promifes, to gratify their ruling inclinations. These fugitives, who fled before the Turkish arms, passed the Tanais and Boryfthenes, and boldly advanced into the heart of Poland and Germany, violating the law of nations, and abusing the rights of victory. Before ten years had elapsed, their camps were feated on the Danube and the Elbe, many Bulgarian and Sclavonian names were obliterated from the earth, and the remainder of their tribes are found, as tributaries and vaffals, under the flandard of the Avars. The chagan, the peculiar title of their king, still affected to cultivate the friendship of the Emperor; and Justinian entertained fome thoughts of fixing them in Pannonia, to balance the prevailing power of the Lombards. But the virtue or treachery of an Avar betrayed the fecret enmity and ambitious defigns of their countrymen; and they loudly complained of the timid, though jealous policy, of detaining their ambaffadors, and denying the arms which they had been allowed to purchase in the capital of the empire 34.

Perhaps

³⁴ The embaffies and first conquests of the Avars may be read in Memander (Excerpt, Legat. p. 99, 100, 101. 154, 155.). Theophanes (p. 196.)

Perhaps the apparent change in the dispositions C H A P. of the Emperors, may be afcribed to the embaffy XLH. which was received from the conquerors of the Embaffies Avars 35. The immense distance which eluded of the their arms, could not extinguish their resentment: Romans, the Turkish ambassadors pursued the footsteps of A.D. the vanquished to the Jaik, the Volga, Mount 569-582. Caucafus, the Euxine, and Constantinople, and at length appeared before the fucceffor of Conflantine, to request that he would not espouse the cause of rebels and fugitives. Even commerce had fome share in this remarkable negotiation: and the Sogdoites, who were now the tributaries of the Turks, embraced the fair occasion of opening, by the north of the Caspian, a new road for the importation of Chinese filk into the Roman empire. The Perfian, who preferred the navigation of Ceylon, had stopped the caravans of Bochara and Samarcand: their filk was contemptuoufly burnt: fome Turkish ambassadors died in Persia, with a suspicion of poison; and the great khan permitted his faithful vaffal Maniach the prince of the Sogdoites, to propose, at the Byzantine court, a treaty of alliance against their common enemies. Their splendid apparel and rich presents, the fruit of Oriental luxury, diftinguished Maniach and his colleagues, from the

(p. 196.), the Historia Miscella (l. xvi. p. 109.), and Gregory of Tours (1. iv. c. 23. 29. in the Historians of France, tom. ii. p. 214. 217.).

³⁵ Theophanes (Chron. p. 204.) and the Hift. Mifcella (l. xvi. p. 110.) as understood by De Guignes (tom. i. part ii. p. 354.), appear to speak of a Turkish embassy to Justinian highfelf; but that of Maniach, in the fourth year of his fuccessor Justin, is positively the first that reached Constantinople (Menander, p. 108.).

XLII.

CHAP. rude favages of the North: their letters, in the Scythian character and language, announced a people who had attained the rudiments of science 36: they enumerated the conquests, they offered the friendship and military aid of the Turks; and their fincerity was attefted by direful imprecations (if they were guilty of falsehood) against their own head, and the head of Disabul their master. The Greek Prince entertained with hospitable regard the ambassadors of a remote and powerful monarch: the fight of filkworms and looms disappointed the hopes of the Sogdoites; the Emperor renounced, or feemed to renounce, the fugitive Avars, but he accepted the alliance of the Turks; and the ratification of the treaty was carried by a Roman minister to the foot of Mount Altai. Under the fucceffors of Justinian, the friendship of the two nations was cultivated by frequent and cordial intercourse; the most favoured vasials were permitted to imitate the example of the great khan, and one hundred and fix Turks, who, on various occasions, had visited Constantinople, departed at the same time for their native country. The duration and length of the journey from the Byzantine court to Mount Altai are not specified: it might have been difficult to mark a road

³⁶ The Ruffians have found characters, rude hieroglyphics, on the Irtish and Yenisei, on medals, tombs, idols, rocks, obelisks, &c. (Strahlenberg, Hist. of Siberia, p. 324. 346. 406. 429.). Dr. Hyde (de Religione Veterum Perfarum, p. 521, &c.) has given two alphabets of Thibet and of the Eygours. I have long harboured a fuspicion that all the Scythian, and fome, perhaps much, of the Indian science, was derived from the Greeks of Bactriana.

through the nameless deserts, the mountains, CHAP. rivers, and moraffes of Tartary; but a curious account has been preferved of the reception of the Roman ambaffadors at the royal camp. After they had been purified with fire and incense, according to a rite still practifed under the sons of Zingis, they were introduced to the prefence of Difabul. In a valley of the Golden Mountain. they found the great khan in his tent, feated in a chair with wheels, to which an horse might be occasionally harnessed. As soon as they had delivered their prefents, which were received by the proper officers, they exposed, in a florid oration, the wifnes of the Roman Emperor, that victory might attend the arms of the Turks, that their reign might be long and prosperous, and that a ftrict alliance, without envy or deceit, might for ever be maintained between the two most powerful nations of the earth. The answer of Difabul corresponded with these friendly professions, and the ambassadors were seated by his fide, at a banquet which lasted the greatest part of the day: the tent was furrounded with filk hangings, and a Tartar liquor was ferved on the table, which poffeffed at least the intoxicating qualities of wine. The entertainment of the fucceeding day was more fumptuous; the filk hangings of the fecond tent were embroidered in various figures; and the royal feat, the cups, and the vafes, were of gold. A third pavilion was supported by columns of gilt wood; a bed of pure and maffy gold was raifed on four peacocks of the same metal: and before the entrance

U 4

C H A P. trance of the tent, dishes, basons, and statues of folid filver, and admirable art, were oftentatiously piled in waggons, the monuments of valour rather than of industry. When Disabul led his armies against the frontiers of Persia, his Roman allies followed many days the march of the Turkish camp, nor were they dismissed till they had enjoyed their precedency over the envoy of the great king, whose loud and intemperate clamours interrupted the filence of the royal banquet. The power and ambition of Chofroes cemented the union of the Turks and Romans, who touched his dominions on either fide: but those diflant nations, regardless of each other, consulted the dictates of interest, without recollecting the obligations of oaths and treaties. While the fucceffor of Difabul celebrated his father's obsequies, he was faluted by the ambaffadors of the Emperor Tiberius, who proposed an invasion of Persia, and fuftained, with firmness, the angry, and perhaps the just, reproaches of that haughty Barbarian. "You fee my ten fingers," faid the great khan, and he applied them to his mouth, " you "Romans speak with as many tongues, but "they are tongues of deceit and perjury. " me you hold one language, to my subjects " another: and the nations are fuccessively de-" luded by your perfidious eloquence. You pre-" cipitate your allies into war and danger, you " enjoy their labours, and you neglect your " benefactors. Haften your return, inform your " mafter that a Turk is incapable of utter-" ing or forgiving fallhood, and that he shall " fpeedily " fpeedily meet the punishment which he de- CHAP. " ferves. While he folicits my friendship with " flattering and hollow words, he is funk to a con-" federate of my fugitive Varchonites. If I con-"descend to march against those contemptible " flaves, they will tremble at the found of our " whips; they will be trampled, like a neft of " ants, under the feet of my innumerable ca-" valry. I am not ignorant of the road which "they followed to invade your empire; nor can "I be deceived by the vain pretence, that Mount " Caucafus is the impregnable barrier of the Rose mans. I know the course of the Niester, the "Danube, and the Hebrus; the most warlike co nations have yielded to the arms of the Turks; " and from the rifing to the fetting fun, the " earth is my inheritance." Notwithstanding this menace, a fense of mutual advantage soon renewed the alliance of the Turks and Romans: but the pride of the great khan survived his refentment: and when he announced an important conquest to his friend the Emperor Maurice, he ftyled himfelf the mafter of the feven races, and the lord of the feven climates of the world 37.

Disputes have often arisen between the sove- State of reigns of Asia, for the title of king of the world; Persia, while the contest has proved that it could not 500-5300 belong to either of the competitors. The kingdom of the Turks was bounded by the Oxus or Gihon; and Touran was separated by that great

37 All the details of these Turkish and Roman embassies, so curious in the history of human manners, are drawn from the Extracts of Menander (p. 106-110. 151-154. 161-164.), in which we often regret the want of order and connection.

XLII.

CHAP. river from the rival monarchy of Iran, or Perfia, which in a finaller compass contained perhaps a larger measure of power and population. The Perfians, who alternately invaded and repulfed the Turks and the Romans, were still ruled by the house of Sassan, which ascended the throne three hundred years before the accession of Justinian. His contemporary, Cabades, or Kobad, had been fuccessful in war against the Emperor Anastasius; but the reign of that prince was diftracted by civil and religious troubles. A prifoner in the hands of his fubjects; an exile among the enemies of Persia; he recovered his liberty by proftituting the honour of his wife, and regained his kingdom with the dangerous and mercenary aid of the Barbarians, who had flain his father. His nobles were fuspicious that Kobad never forgave the authors of his expulfion, or even those of his restoration. people was deluded and inflamed by the fanaticism of Mazdak 28, who afferted the community of women 39, and the equality of mankind, whilft he appropriated the richeft lands and most beautiful females to the use of his sectaries. view of these disorders, which had been fomented by his laws and example 40, embittered the declining

39 The fame of the new law for the community of women was foon propagated in Syria (Affeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 402.). and Greece (Procop. Perfic. l. i. c. 5.).

³⁸ See d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 568. 929.); Hyde (de Religione Vet. Perfarum, c. 21. p. 290, 291.): Pocock (Specimen Hift. Arab. p. 70, 71.); Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 176.); Texeira (in Stevens, Hift. of Perfia, l. i. c. 34.).

⁴º He offered his own wife and fifter to the prophet; but the prayers of Nushirvan faved his mother, and the indignant monarch never for-

clining age of the Persian monarch; and his fears & HAP. were increased by the consciousness of his design XLH. to reverse the natural and customary order of succession, in favour of his third and most favoured fon, fo famous under the names of Chofroes and Nushirvan. To render the youth more illustrious in the eyes of the nations, Kobad was defirous that he should be adopted by the Emperor Justin: the hope of peace inclined the Byzantine court to accept this fingular propofal; and Chofroes might have acquired a specious claim to the inheritance of his Roman parent. But the future mischief was diverted by the advice of the quæstor Proclus: a difficulty was started, whether the adoption should be performed as a civil or military rite 41; the treaty was abruptly diffolved; and the fense of this indignity funk deep into the mind of Chofroes, who had already advanced to the Tigris on his road to Constantinople. His father did not long furvive the disappointment of his wishes: the testament or their deceased sovereign was read in the assembly of the nobles; and a powerful faction, prepared for the event, and regardless of the priority of age, exalted Chofroes to the throne of Perfia. He filled that throne during a prosperous period

gave the humiliation to which his filial piety had stooped: pedes tuos deosculatus (said he to Mazdak), cujus fætor adhuc nares occupat (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 71.).

⁴¹ Procopius, Perfic. l.i. c. 11. Was not Proclus over-wife? Was not the danger imaginary?—The excuse, at least, was injurious to a pation not ignorant of letters: ε γραμμασι οί δαρδαρει της παιδας ποιενται αλλ έπλων σχευη. Whether any mode of adoption was practised in Persa, I much doubt.

CHAP. of forty-eight years 42; and the JUSTICE of Nushirvan is celebrated as the theme of immortal praise by the nations of the East.

Reign of Nushirvan, or Chofroes. A.D. 531-579-

But the justice of kings is understood by them. felves, and even by their fubjects, with an ample indulgence for the gratification of passion and interest. The virtue of Chosroes was that of a conqueror, who, in the measures of peace and war, is excited by ambition, and restrained by prudence; who confounds the greatness with the happiness of a nation, and calmly devotes the lives of thousands to the fame, or even the amusement, of a fingle man. In his domestic administration, the just Nushirvan would merit in our feelings the appellation of a tyrant. His two elder brothers had been deprived of their fair expectations of the diadem: their future life, between the supreme rank and the condition of fubjects, was anxious to themselves and formidable to their mafter: fear as well as revenge might tempt them to rebel; the flightest evidence of a conspiracy satisfied the author of their wrongs; and the repose of Chosroes was secured by the death of these unhappy princes, with their families and adherents. One guiltless youth was faved and dismissed by the compassion of a ve-

⁴² From Procopius and Agathias, Pagi (tom. ii. p. 543. 626.) has proved that Chofroes Nushirvan ascended the throne in the fifth year of Justinian (A. D. 531, April 1. - A. D. 532, April 1.). But the true chronology, which harmonizes with the Greeks and Orientals, is afcertained by John Malala (tom.ii. 211,). Cabades, or Kobad, after a reign of forty-three years and two months, fickened the 8th, and died the 13th of September, A.D. 531, aged eighty-two years. According to the annals of Eutychius, Nushirvan reigned forty-seven years and fix months; and his death must consequently be placed in March A. D. 579.

teran general; and this act of humanity, which e H A P. was revealed by his fon, overbalanced the merit of reducing twelve nations to the obedience of Perfia. The zeal and prudence of Mebodes had fixed the diadem on the head of Chofroes himfelf; but he delayed to attend the royal fummons till he had performed the duties of a military review: he was infantly commanded to repair to the iron tripod, which stood before the gate of the palace43, where it was death to relieve or approach the victim; and Mebodes languished feveral days before his fentence was pronounced, by the inflexible pride and calm ingratitude of the fon of Kobad. But the people, more especially in the East, is disposed to forgive, and even to applaud, the cruelty which strikes at the loftiest heads; at the flaves of ambition, whose voluntary choice has exposed them to live in the smiles, and to perish by the frown of a capricious monarch, in the execution of the laws which he had no temptation to violate; in the punishment of crimes which attacked his own dignity, as well as the happiness of individuals; Nushirvan, or Chofroes, deserved the appellation of just. His government was firm, rigorous, and impartial. was the first labour of his reign to abolish the dangerous theory of common or equal possessions: the lands and women which the fectaries of Mazdak had usurped, were restored to their lawful owners; and the temperate chastifement of the fa-

natics

⁴³ Procopius, Perfic. l. i. c. 23. Briffon de Regn. Perf. p. 494. The gate of the palace of Ifpahan is, or was, the fatal fcene of difgrace or death (Chardin, Voyage en Perfe, tom. iv. p. 312, 313.).

C H A P. natics or impostors confirmed the domestic rights of fociety. Inflead of liftening with blind confidence to a favourite minister, he established four viziers over the four great provinces of his empire, Affyria, Media, Persia, and Bactriana. the choice of judges, præfects, and counsellors, he strove to remove the mask which is always worn in the presence of kings; he wished to substitute the natural order of talents for the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune; he profeffed, in specious language, his intention to prefer those men who carried the poor in their bosoms, and to banish corruption from the feat of Justice, as dogs were excluded from the temples of the Magi. The code of laws of the first Artaxerxes was revived and published as the rule of the magistrates; but the assurance of speedy punishment was the best security of their virtue. Their behaviour was inspected by a thousand eyes, their words were overheard by a thousand ears, the fecret or public agents of the throne; and the provinces, from the Indian to the Arabian confines, were enlightened by the frequent visits of a sovereign, who affected to emulate his celestial brother in his rapid and falutary career. Education and agriculture he viewed as the two objects most deserving of his care. In every city of Persia, orphans and the children of the poor were maintained and inftructed at the public expence; the daughters were given in marriage to the richest citizens of their own rank, and the fons, according to their different talents, were employed in mechanic trades, or promoted to more more honourable fervice. The deferted villages CHAP. were relieved by his bounty; to the peafants and farmers who were found incapable of cultivating their lands, he distributed cattle, seed, and the instruments of husbandry; and the rare and inestimable treasure of fresh water was parsimoniously managed, and skilfully dispersed over the arid territory of Persia 44. The prosperity of that kingdom was the effect and the evidence of his virtues: his vices are those of Oriental despotism: but in the long competition between Chofroes and Justinian, the advantage both of merit and fortune is almost always on the side of the Barbarian 45.

To the praise of justice Nushirvan united the His love of reputation of knowledge; and the feven Greek learning. philosophers, who visited his court, were invited and deceived by the ftrange affurance, that a difciple of Plato was feated on the Persian throne. Did they expect that a prince, strenuously exercifed in the toils of war and government, should agitate, with dexterity like their own, the abstruse and profound questions which amused the

44 In Persia, the prince of the waters is an officer of state. The number of wells and fubterraneous channels is much diminished, and with it the fertility of the foil; 400 wells have been recently loft near Tauris, and 42,000 were once reckoned in the province of Khorasan (Chardin. tom. iii. p. 99, 100. Tavernier, tom. i. p. 466.).

45 The character and government of Nushirvan is represented sometimes in the words of d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 680, &c. from Khendemir), Eutychius Annul. tom. ii. p. 179, 180. — very rich), Abulpharagius (Dynast. vii. p. 94, 95. - very poor), Tarikh Sheikard (p. 144-150.), Texeira (in Stevens, l. i. c. 35.), Asseman. (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 404-410.), and the Abbe Fourmont (Hift. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. vii. p. 325-334.), who has translated a fpurious or genuine testament of Nushiryan.

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CHAP, leifure of the schools of Athens? Could they hope that the precepts of philosophy should direct the life, and control the passions, of a despot, whose infancy had been taught to confider his abfolute and fluctuating will as the only rule of moral obligation 40? The fludies of Chofroes were oftentatious and superficial: but his example awakened the curiofity of an ingenious people, and the light of fcience was diffused over the dominions of Perfia 47. At Gondi Sapor, in the neighbourhood of the royal city of Susa, an academy of phyfic was founded, which infenfibly became a liberal school of poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric 48. The annals of the monarchy 49 were composed; and while recent and authentic history might afford some useful lessons both to the prince and people, the darkness of the first ages was embellished by the giants, the dragons, and the fabulous heroes of Oriental romance 50. Every learned

47 On the literary state of Persia, the Greek versions, philosophers, Sophists, the learning or ignorance of Chospoes, Agathias (1. ii. c. 66-21.) displays much information and strong prejudices.

48 Affeman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. DCCLXV. vi. vii.

49 The Shah Nameh, or Book of Kings, is perhaps the original record of history which was translated into Greek by the interpreter Sergius (Agathias, l. v. p. 141.), preserved after the Mahometan conquest, and verified in the year 994, by the national poet Ferdouffi. See d'Anquetil (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xxxi. p. 379.), and Sir William Jones (Hift. of Nader Shah, p. 161.).

50 In the fifth century, the name of Restom or Rostom, an hero who equalled the strength of twelve elephants, was familiar to the Armenians (Mofes Chorenenfis, Hift. Armen. I. ii. c. 7. p. 96. edit. Whifton), In the beginning of the seventh, the Persian Romance of Rostam and Istendiar was applauded at Mecca (Sale's Koran, c. xxxi. p. 335.).

⁴⁶ A thousand years before his birth, the judges of Persia had given a folemn opinion-τω Βασιλευοντι Περσεων εξειναι σοιεειν το αν Βουληται (Herodot. I. iii. c. 31. p. 210. edit. Wesseling.). Nor had this constitutional maxim been neglected as an useless and barren theory.

or confident stranger was enriched by the bounty, CHAP. and flattered by the conversation, of the monarch: he nobly rewarded a Greek physician 51, by the deliverance of three thousand captives; and the fophists who contended for his favour, were exasperated by the wealth and insolence of Uranius, their more fuccessful rival. Nushirvan believed. or at least respected, the religion of the Magi; and fome traces of perfecution may be discovered in his reign⁵². Yet he allowed himfelf freely to compare the tenets of the various fects; and the theological disputes in which he frequently prefided diminished the authority of the priest, and enlightened the minds of the people. At his command, the most celebrated writers of Greece and India were translated into the Persian language; a fmooth and elegant idiom, recommended by Mahomet to the use of paradise: though it is branded with the epithets of favage and unmufical, by the ignorance and prefumption of Agathias 53. Yet the Greek historian might reasonably wonder, that it should be found possible to execute an entire version of Plato and Aristotle in a

Yet this exposition of ludicrum novæ historiæ, is not given by Maracci

(Refutat. Alcoran. p. 544—548).

51 Procop. Goth. I. iv. c. 10. Kobad had a favourite Greek physician, Stephen of Edessa (Persic. l. ii. c. 26.). The practice was ancient; and Herodotus relates the adventures of Democedes of Crotona (l. iii. c. 125—137.).

52 See Pagi, tom. ii. p. 626. In one of the treaties an honourable article was inferted for the toleration and burial of the Catholics (Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 142.). Nushizad, a son of Nushirvan, was a Christian, a rebel, and—a martyr? (D'Herbelot, p. 681.).

33 On the Persian language, and its three dialects, consult D'Anquetil (p. 339—343.) and Jones (p. 153—185.): αγριφ των γλωτην και αμεσστατφ, is the character which Agathias (l. ii. p. 66.) ascribes to an idiom renowned in the East for poetical softness.

CHAP. foreign dialect, which had not been framed to express the spirit of freedom and the subtleties of philosophic disquisition. And, if the reason of the Stagyrite might be equally dark, or equally intelligible in every tongue, the dramatic art and verbal argumentation of the disciple of Socrates54, appear to be indiffolubly mingled with the grace and perfection of his Attic style. In the fearch of universal knowledge, Nushirvan was informed, that the moral and political fables of Pilpay, an ancient Brachman, were preferved with jealous reverence among the treasures of the kings of The physician Perozes was secretly dif-India. patched to the banks of the Ganges, with instructions to procure, at any price, the communication of this valuable work. His dexterity obtained a transcript, his learned diligence accomplished the translation; and the fables of Pilpayss were read and admired in the affembly of Nushirvan and his nobles. The Indian original, and the Perfian copy, have long fince disappeared: but this venerable monument has been faved by the curiofity of the Arabian caliphs, revived in the modern Perfic, the Turkish, the Syriac, the Hebrew, and

⁵⁴ Agathias specifies the Gorgias, Phædon, Parmenides, and Timæus. Renaudot (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 246-261.) does not mention this Barbaric version of Aristotle.

⁵⁵ Of these fables, I have seen three copies in three different languages: 1. In Greek, translated by Simeon Seth (A.D. 1100) from the Arabic, and published by Starck at Berlin in 1697, in 12mo. 2. In Latin, a vertion from the Greek, Sapientia Indorum, inferted by Pere Pouffin at the end of his edition of Pachymer (p. 547-620. edit. Roman). 3. In French, from the Turkish, dedicated, in 1540, to Sultan Soliman. Contes et Fables Indiennes de Bidpai et de Lokman, par M. M. Galland et Cardonne, Paris, 1778. 3 vols. in 12mo. Mr. Wharton (Fultory of English Poetry, vol. i. p. 129-131.) takes a larger fcope. the

the Greek idioms, and transfused through suc- CHAP. cessive versions into the modern languages of Europe. In their present form, the peculiar character, the manners and religion of the Hindoos, are completely obliterated; and the intrinfic merit of the fables of Pilpay is far inferior to the concife elegance of Phædrus, and the native graces of La Fontaine. Fifteen moral and political fentences are illustrated in a feries of apologues: but the composition is intricate, the narrative prolix, and the precept obvious and Yet the Brachman may affume the merit of inventing a pleafing fiction, which adorns the nakedness of truth, and alleviates, perhaps, to a royal ear, the harshness of instruction. With a fimilar defign, to admonish kings that they are strong only in the strength of their subjects, the fame Indians invented the game of chefs, which was likewise introduced into Persia under the reign of Nushirvan 56.

The fon of Kobad found his kingdom involved Peace and in a war with the fuccessor of Constantine; and war with the anxiety of his domestic situation inclined the Rohim to grant the suspension of arms, which Jus- A.D. tinian was impatient to purchase. Chosroes saw 533-539. the Roman ambaffadors at his feet. He accepted eleven thousand pounds of gold, as the price of an endless or indefinite peace 57; some mutual exchanges

56 See the Historia Shahiludii of Dr. Hyde (Syntagm. Differtat. tom. ii. p. 6r-69.).

⁵⁷ The endless peace (Procopius, Perfic. l.i. c. 21.) was concluded or ratified in the vith year, and iiid confulfhip of Justinian (A. D. 533,

CHAP. changes were regulated; the Persian assumed the guard of the gates of Caucasus, and the demolition of Dara was fuspended, on condition that it should never be made the residence of the general of the East. This interval of repose had been folicited, and was diligently improved by the ambition of the Emperor: his African conquests were the first fruits of the Persian Treaty; and the avarice of Chofroes was foothed by a large portion of the spoils of Carthage, which his ambaffadors required in a tone of pleafantry, and under the colour of friendship 58. But the trophies of Belifarius diffurbed the flumbers of the Great King; and he heard with aftonishment, envy, and fear, that Sicily, Italy, and Rome itself, had been reduced, in three rapid campaigns, to the obedience of Justinian. Unpractifed in the art of violating treaties, he fecretly excited his bold and fubtle vaffal Almondar. That prince of the Saracens, who refided at Hira 59, had not been included in the general peace, and still waged an obscure war against his rival Arethas, the chief of the tribe of Gaffan, and confederate of the empire. The fubject of their dispute was an extensive sheep-walk in the defert to the fouth of Palmyra. An immemorial tribute for the licence of pasture, appeared to

> between January 1, and April 1. Pagi, tom. ii. p. 550.). Marcellinus, in his chronicle, uses the style of Medes and Persians.

58 Procopius, Persic. 1. i. c. 26.

⁵⁹ Almondar, King of Hira, was deposed by Kobad, and restored by Nushirvan. His mother, from her beauty, was furnamed Caleftial quater, an appellation which became hereditary, and was extended for a more noble cause (liberality in famine) to the Arab princes of Syria (Pocock, Specimen Hift. Arab. p. 69, 70.). attest

attest the rights of Almondar, while the Gassanite C H A P. appealed to the Latin name of firsts, a paved road, as an unquestionable evidence of the fovereignty and labours of the Romans 68. The two monarchs supported the cause of their refpective vaffals; and the Perfian Arab, without expecting the event of a flow and doubtful arbitration, enriched his flying camp with the spoil and captives of Syria. Instead of repelling the arms, Justinian attempted to seduce the fidelity, of Almondar, while he called from the extremities of the earth the nations of Æthiopia and Scythia to invade the dominions of his rival. But the aid of fuch allies was diffant and precarious, and the discovery of this hostile correspondence justified the complaints of the Goths and Armenians, who implored, almost at the fame time, the protection of Chofroes. The defcendants of Arfaces, who were still numerous in Armenia, had been provoked to affert the last relics of national freedom and hereditary rank; and the ambaffadors of Vitiges had fecretly traversed the empire to expose the instant, and almost inevitable, danger of the kingdom of Italy. Their representations were uniform, weighty. and effectual. "We fland before your throne, " the advocates of your interest as well as of our cown. The ambitious and faithless Justinian es aspires to be the sole master of the world.

⁶⁶ Procopius, Perfic. I. ii. c. 1. We are ignorant of the origin and object of this *firata*, a paved road of ten days' journey from Auranitis to Babylonia. (See a Latin note in Delille's Map Imp. Orient.) Wesseling and D'Anville are filent.

XLII.

" Since the endless peace, which betrayed the CHAP. " common freedom of mankind, that Prince, " your ally in words, your enemy in actions, has " alike infulted his friends and foes, and has " filled the earth with blood and confusion. Has " he not violated the privileges of Armenia, " the independence of Colchos, and the wild " liberty of the Tzanian mountains? Has he not " usurped, with equal avidity, the city of Bos-" phorus on the frozen Mæotus, and the vale " of palm-trees on the shores of the Red Sea? "The Moors, the Vandals, the Goths, have been " fucceffively oppressed, and each nation has " calmly remained the spectator of their neigh. bour's ruin. Embrace, O King the favourable " moment; the East is left without defence, " while the armies of Justinian and his renowned " general are detained in the distant regions of " the West. If you hesitate and delay, Beli-" farius and his victorious troops will foon return " from the Tiber to the Tigris, and Persia may " enjoy the wretched confolation of being the " last devoured "." By such arguments, Chos. roes was eafily perfuaded to imitate the example which he condemned; but the Persian, ambitious of military fame, disdained the inactive warfare of a rival, who iffued his fanguinary commands from the secure station of the Byzan-

tine palace.

Whatever

⁶¹ I have blended, in a short speech, the two orations of the Arfacides of Armenia and the Gothic ambaffadors. Procopius, in his public hiftory, feels, and makes us feel, that Justinian was the true author of the war (Perfic. l. ii. c. 2, 3.).

Whatever might be the provocations of Chof- C H A P. roes, he abused the confidence of treaties: and the just reproaches of diffimulation and falsehood He invades could only be concealed by the lustre of his Syria, A.D. 540; victories 62. The Persian army, which had been affembled in the plains of Babylon, prudently declined the ftrong cities of Mesopotamia, and followed the western bank of the Euphrates, till the fmall though populous town of Dura prefumed to arrest the progress of the Great King. The gates of Dura, by treachery and furprife, were burft open; and as foon as Chofroes had stained his fcymiter with the blood of the inhabitants, he difmiffed the ambaffador of Justinian to inform his mafter in what place he had left the enemy of the Romans. The conqueror still affected the praise of humanity and justice; and as he beheld a noble matron with her infant rudely dragged along the ground, he fighed, he wept, and implored the divine justice to punish the author of these calamities. Yet the herd of twelve thousand captives was ransomed for two hundred pounds of gold; the neighbouring Bishop of Sergioplis pledged his faith for the payment; and in the fubfequent year the unfeeling avarice of Chofroes exacted the penalty of an obligation which it was generous to contract and impossible

⁶² The invation of Syria, the ruin of Antioch, &c. are related in a full and regular feries by Procopius (Perfic. 1. ii. c. 5—14.). Small collateral aid can be drawn from the Orientals: yet not they, but D'Herbelot himfelf (p. 680.) should blush, when he blames them for making Justinian and Nushirvan contemporaries. On the geography of the seat of war, D'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre) is sufficient and satisfactory.

CHAP. to discharge. He advanced into the heart of Syria; but a feeble enemy, who vanquished at his approach, disappointed him of the honour of victory, and as he could not hope to establish his dominion, the Persian King displayed in this inroad the mean and rapacious vices of a robber. Hierapolis, Berrhæa or Aleppo, Apamea and Chalcis, were fuccessively besieged; they redeemed their fafety by a ranfom of gold or filver, proportioned to their respective strength and opulence; and their new mafter enforced, without observing, the terms of capitulation. cated in the religion of the Magi, he exercised without remorfe the lucrative trade of facrilege; and, after stripping of its gold and gems a piece of the true cross, he generously restored the naked reliet to the devotion of the Christians of Apamea. No more than fourteen years had elapsed since Antioch was ruined by an earthquake; but the Queen of the East, the new Theopolis, had been raifed from the ground by the liberality of Justinian; and the increasing greatness of the buildings and the people already erafed the memory of this recent difafter. On one fide, the city was defended by the mountain, on the other by the river Orontes; but the most accessible part was commanded by a superior eminence: the proper remedies were rejected, from the despicable fear of discovering its weakness to the enemy; and Germanus, the Emperor's nephew, refused to trust his person and dignity within the walls of a befieged city. The people of Antioch had inherited the vain and fatirical genius

and rvins Antioch.

genius of their ancestors: they were elated by a C H A P. fudden reinforcement of fix thousand foldiers: they disdained the offers of an easy capitulation: and their intemperate clamours infulted from the ramparts the majesty of the Great King. Under his eye the Persian myriads mounted with scaling-ladders to the affault; the Roman mercenaries fled through the opposite gate of Daphne; and the generous affiftance of the youth of Antioch ferved only to aggravate the miferies of their country. As Chofroes, attended by the ambaffadors of Justinian, was descending from the mountain, he affected, in a plaintive voice, to deplore the obstinacy and ruin of that unhappy people; but the flaughter still raged with unrelenting fury; and the city, at the command of a Barbarian, was delivered to the flames. The cathedral of Antioch was indeed preferved by the avarice, not the piety, of the conqueror: a more honourable exemption was granted to the church of StaJulian, and the quarter of the town where the ambaffadors refided; fome diftant streets were faved by the shifting of the wind, and the walls still subfifted to protect, and soon to betray, their new Fanaticism had defaced the ornainhabitants. ments of Daphne, but Chofroes breathed a purer air amidst her groves and fountains; and some idolaters in his train might facrifice with impunity to the nymphs of that elegant retreat. Eighteen miles below Antioch, the river Orontes falls into the Mediterranean. The haughty Perfian visited the term of his conquests: and, after bathing alone in the fea, he offered a folemn facri314

CHAP. fice of thanksgiving to the sun, or rather to the Creator of the fun, whom the Magi adored. If this act of superstition offended the prejudices of the Syrians, they were pleafed by the courteous and even eager attention with which he affifted at the games of the circus; and as Chofroes had heard that the blue faction was espoused by the Emperor, his peremptory command fecured the victory of the green charioteer. From the difcipline of his camp the people derived more folid confolation; and they interceded in vain for the life of a foldier who had too faithfully copied the rapine of the just Nushirvan. At length, fatigued, though unfatiated, with the spoil of Syria, he flowly moved to the Euphrates, formed a temporary bridge in the neighbourhood of Barbaliffus, and defined the space of three days for the entire passage of his numerous host. his return, he founded, at the distance of one day's journey from the palace of Ctefiphon, a new city, which perpetuated the joint names of Chofroes and of Antioch. The Syrian captives recognifed the form and fituation of their native abodes: baths and a stately circus were constructed for their use; and a colony of musicians and charioteers revived in Affyria the pleasures of a Greek capital. By the munificence of the royal founder, a liberal allowance was affigned to these fortunate exiles; and they enjoyed the fingular privilege of bestowing freedom on the slaves whom they acknowledged as their kinfmen. Paleftine, and the holy wealth of Jerusalem, were the next objects that attracted the ambition, or rather the avarice, of Chofroes. Conftantinople, and the palace of CHAP. the Cæfars, no longer appeared impregnable or remote; and his aspiring fancy already covered Afia Minor with the troops, and the Black Sea with the navies, of Persia.

These hopes might have been realized, if the Defence conqueror of Italy had not been feafonably recall- of the East by Belifaed to the defence of the East 3. While Chosroes rius, A.D. purfued his ambitious defigns on the coast of the 541. Euxine, Belifarius, at the head of an army without pay or discipline, encamped beyond the Euphrates, within fix miles of Nisibis. He meditated, by a skilful operation, to draw the Persians from their impregnable citadel, and improving his advantage in the field, either to intercept their retreat, or perhaps to enter the gates with the flying Barbarians. He advanced one day's journey on the territories of Persia, reduced the fortress of Sisaurane, and sent the governor, with eight hundred chosen horsemen, to serve the Emperor in his Italian wars. He detached Arethas and his Arabs, supported by twelve hundred Romans, to pass the Tigris, and to ravage the harvests of Affyria, a fruitful province, long exempt from the calamities of war. But the plans of Belifarius were disconcerted by the untractable spirit of Arethas, who neither returned to the camp, nor fent any intelligence of his motions. The Roman general was fixed in anxious expectation to the same spot; the time of action elapsed, the

63 In the public history of Procopius (Persic. l. ii. c. 16. 18, 19, 20, 21. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.); and, with some slight exceptions, we may reasonably shut our ears against the malevolent whisper of the Anecdotes (c. 2, 3. with the Notes, as usual, of Alemannus.). ardent

CHAP. ardent fun of Mesopotamia inflamed with fevers the blood of his European foldiers; and the stationary troops and officers of Syria, affected to tremble for the fafety of their defenceless cities. Yet this diversion had already succeeded in forcing Chofroes to return with loss and precipitation; and if the skill of Belifarius had been seconded by discipline and valour, his success might have fatisfied the fanguine wishes of the public, who required at his hands the conquest of Ctesiphon,

A. D. 542.

and the deliverance of the captives of Antioch. At the end of the campaign, he was recalled to Conftantinople by an ungrateful court, but the dangers of the enfuing fpring reftored his confidence and command; and the hero, almost alone, was dispatched, with the speed of post-horses, to repel, by his name and presence, the invasion of He found the Roman generals, among Syria. whom was a nephew of Justinian, imprisoned by their fears in the fortifications of Hierapolis. But instead of listening to their timid counsels, Belifarius commanded them to follow him to Europus, where he had refolved to collect his forces. and to execute whatever God should inspire him to atchieve against the enemy. His firm attitude on the banks of the Euphrates reftrained Chofroes from advancing towards Palestine; and he received with art and dignity, the ambaffadors, or rather spies, of the Persian monarch. The plain between Hierapolis and the river was covered with the fquadrons of cavalry, fix thousand hunters, tall and robust, who pursued their game without the apprehension of an enemy. On the oppofite bank the ambaffadors descried a thousand Ar- C H A P. menian horse, who appeared to guard the passage . XLII.

of the Euphrates. The tent of Belifarius was of the coarfest linen, the simple equipage of a warrior who disdained the luxury of the East. Around his tent, the nations who marched under his standard were arranged with skilful confusion. The Thracians and Illyrians were posted in the front, the Heruli and Goths in the centre; the prospect was closed by the Moors and Vandals, and their loofe array feemed to multiply their numbers. Their dress was light and active; one foldier carried a whip, another a fword, a third a bow, a fourth, perhaps, a battle axe, and the whole picture exhibited the intrepidity of the troops and the vigilance of the general. Chofroes was deluded by the address, and awed by the genius, of the lieutenant of Justinian. Confcious of the merit, and ignorant of the force, of his antagonist, he dreaded a decisive battle in a distant country, from whence not a Persian might return to relate the melancholy tale. The Great King haftened to repass the Euphrates; and Belifarius pressed his retreat, by affecting to oppose a measure so falutary to the empire, and which could fcarcely have been prevented by an army of an hundred thousand men. Envy might fuggest to ignorance and pride, that the public enemy had been fuffered to escape: but the African and Gothic triumphs are less glorious than this fafe and bloodless victory, in which neither fortune, nor the valour of the foldiers, can fubtract any part of the general's renown.

The

CHAP The fecond removal of Belifarius from the Per-XLII. fian to the Italian war, revealed the extent of A. D. 543. his perfonal merit, which had corrected or fupplied the want of discipline and courage. Fifteen generals, without concert or skill, led through the mountains of Armenia an army of thirty thousand Romans, inattentive to their fignals, their ranks, and their enfigns. Four thousand Persians, entrenched in the camp of Dubis, vanquished, almost without a combat, this disorderly multitude; their useless arms were scattered along the road, and their horses sunk under the fatigue of their rapid flight. But the Arabs of the Roman party prevailed over their brethren; the Armenians returned to their allegiance; the cities of Dara and Edessa resisted a sudden assault, and a regular fiege, and the calamities of war were suspended by those of pestilence. A tacit or formal agreement between the two fovereigns protected the tranquillity of the eastern frontier; and the arms of Chofroes were confined to the Colchian or Lazic war, which has been too minutely described by the historians of the times 64.

Description of Colchos, Lazica, or Mingrelia.

The extreme length of the Euxine sea 65, from Conftantinople to the mouth of the Phasis, may be computed as a voyage of nine days, and a meafire

64 The Lazic war, the contest of Rome and Persia on the Phasis, is tedioufly fpun through many a page of Procopius (Perfic. l. ii. c. 15.17. 28, 29, 30. Gothic l. iv. c. 7-16.), and Agathius (l. ii. iii. and iv. p. 55-132. 141.).

⁵⁵ The Periplus, or circumnavigation of the Euxine fea, was described in Latin by Salluft, and in Greek by Arrian: 1. The former work, which no longer exists, has been restored by the fingular diligence of M. de Broffes, first president of the parliament of Dijon (Hift. de la Republique Romaine, tom. ii. l. iii. p. 199-298.), who ventures to affume

fure of feven hundred miles. From the Iberian C H A P. Caucafus the most lofty and craggy mountains of Afia, that river descends with such oblique vehemence that in a short space it is traversed by one hundred and twenty bridges. Nor does the stream become placid and navigable till it reaches the town of Sarapana, five days' journey from the Cyrus, which flows from the fame hills, but in a contrary direction, to the Caspian lake. The proximity of these rivers have suggested the practice, or at least the idea, of wasting the precious merchandise of India down the Oxus, over the Caspian, up the Cyrus, and with the current of the Phasis into the Euxine and Mediterranean feas. As it fuccessively collects the streams of the plain of Colchos, the Phasis moves with diminished speed, though accumulated weight. At the mouth it is fixty fathom deep, and half a league broad, but a finall woody island is interposed in the midst of the channel: the water, so

the character of the Roman historian. His description of the Euxine is ingeniously formed of all the fragments of the original, and of all the Greeks and Latins whom Sallust might copy, or by whom he might be copied; and the merit of the execution atones for the whimfical design.

2. The Periplus of Arian is addressed to the Emperor Adrian (in Geograph. Minor. Hudson, tom. i.), and contains whatever the governor of Pontus had seen from Trebizond to Dioscurias; whatever he had heard from Dioscurias to the Danube; and whatever he knew from the Danube to Trebizond.

foon as it has deposited an earthy or metallic sediment, floats on the surface of the waves, and is no longer susceptible of corruption. In a course of one hundred miles, forty of which are navigable for large vessels, the Phasis divides the

celebrated

CHAP. celebrated region of Colchos 66, or Mingrelia 67, which, on three fides, is fortified by the Iberian and Armenian mountains, and whose maritime coast extends about two hundred miles from the neighbourhood of Trebizond to Dioscurias, and the confines of Circaffia. Both the foil and climate are relaxed by excessive moisture: twentyeight rivers, besides the Phasis and his dependent ftreams, convey their waters to the fea; and the hollowness of the ground appears to indicate the fubterraneous channels between the Euxine and the Caspian. In the fields where wheat or barley is fown, the earth is too foft to fuftain the action of the plough; but the gom, a finall grain, not unlike the millet or coriander feed, fupplies the

nature.

66 Besides the many occasional hints from the poets, historians, &c. of antiquity, we may confult the geographical descriptions of Colchos, by Strabo (l. xi. p. 760-765.) and Pliny (Hift. Natur. vi. 5.19, &c.).

overshadow the face of the country with thick

The fame powers continually tend to

ordinary food of the people; and the use of bread is confined to the prince and his nobles. Yet the vintage is more plentiful than the harvest; and the bulk of the ftems, as well as the quality of the wine, display the unaffifted powers of

⁶⁷ I shall quote, and have used, three modern descriptions of Mingrelia and the adjacent countries. 1. Of the Pére Archangeli Lamberti (Relations de Thevenot, part i. p. 31-52. with a map), who has all the knowledge and prejudices of a missionary. 2. Of Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. i. p. 54. 68-168.): his observations are judicious; and his own adventures in the country are still more instructive than his observations. 3. Of Peyssonnel (Observations sur les Peuples Barbares, p. 49, 50, 51. 58. 62. 64, 65. 71, &c. and a more recent treatife, Sur le Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 1-53.): he had long refided at Caffa, as conful of France; and his erudition is less valuable than his experience.

forests; the timber of the hills, and the flax of CHAP. the plains, contribute to the abundance of naval. stores; the wild and tame animals, the horse, the ox, and the hog, are remarkably prolific, and the name of the pheafant is expressive of his native habitation on the banks of the Phasis. The gold mines to the fouth of Trebizond, which are still worked with sufficient profit, were a subject of national dispute between Justinian and Chofroes; and it is not unreasonable to believe, that a vein of precious metal may be equally diffused through the circle of the hills, although these secret treasures are neglected by the laziness, or concealed by the prudence, of the Mingrelians. The waters, impregnated with particles of gold, are carefully strained through sheep-skins or fleeces; but this expedient, the ground-work perhaps of a marvellous fable, affords a faint image of the wealth extracted from a virgin earth by the power and industry of ancient kings. Their filver palaces and golden chambers furpass our belief; but the fame of their riches is faid to have excited the enterprifing avarice of the Argonauts 68. Tradition has affirmed, with some colour of reason, that Egypt planted on the Phasis, a learned and polite colony 69, which manufactured linen, built na-

ad Apollonium Argonaut. l. iv. 282-291.

⁶⁸ Pliny, Hift. Natur. l. xxxiii. 15. The gold and filver mines of Colchos attracted the Argonauts (Strab.l.i. p. 77.). The fagacious Chardin could find no gold in mines, rivers or elsewhere. Yet a Mingrelian lost his hand and foot for shewing some specimens at Constantinople of native gold.

⁶⁹ Herodot, l. ii. c. 104, 105. p. 150, 151. Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 38. edit. Wesseling. Dionys. Perieget. 689. and Eustath ad loc. Scholiast.

CHAP. vies, and invented geographical maps. The ingenuity of the moderns has peopled, with flourishing cities and nations, the isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian 70; and a lively writer, observing the resemblance of climate, and, in his apprehension, of trade, has not hesitated to pronounce Colchos the Holland of antiquity 71.

Manners of the natives.

But the riches of Colchos shine only through the darkness of conjecture or tradition; and its genuine hiftory presents an uniform scene of rudeness and poverty. If one-hundred and thirty languages were spoken in the market of Diof. curias 72, they were the imperfect idioms of fo many favage tribes or families, sequestered from each other in the vallies of Mount Caucafus; and their feparation, which diminished the importance, must have multiplied the number, of their ruffic capitals. In the prefent state of Mingrelia, a village is an affemblage of huts within a wooden fence; the fortresses are seated in the depths of forests; the princely town of Cyta, or Cotatis, confifts of two hundred houses, and a stone edifice appertains only to the magnificence of kings. Twelve ships from Constantinople, and about fixty barks, laden with the fruits of industry annually cast anchor on the coast; and the list of Colchian exports is much increased, fince the

⁷º Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. xxi. c. 6. L'Isthme ... couvert de villes et nations qui ne font plus.

⁷¹ Bougainville, Memoires de l'Academie des Infcriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 33. on the African voyage of Hanno and the commerce of antiquity. ⁷² A Greek hiftorian, Timofthenes, had affirmed, in eam ccc nationes diffimilibus linguis descendere; and the modest Pliny is content to add, et a postea a aostris exxx interpretibus negotia ibi gesta (vi. 5.); but the words nunc deferta cover a multitude of past fictions. natives

natives had only flaves and hides to offer in ex- & H A P. change for the corn and falt which they purchased from the subjects of Justinian. Not a veftage can be found of the art, the knowledge, or the navigation, of the ancient Colchians: few Greeks defired or dared to purfue the foot-steps of the Argonauts; and even the marks of an Egyptian colony are lost on a nearer approach. The right of circumcifion is practifed only by the Mahometans of the Euxine; and the curled hair and fwarthy complexion of Africa no longer disfigure the most perfect of the human race. It is in the adjacent climates of Georgia, Mingrelia, and Circassia, that nature has placed, at least to our eyes, the model of beauty, in the shape of the limbs, the colour of the skin, the fymmetry of the features, and the expression of the countenance 73. According to the deftination of the two fexes, the men feem formed for action, the women for love; and the perpetual fupply of females from Mount Caucafus has purified the blood, and improved the breed, of the fouthern nations of Asia. The proper district of Mingrelia, a portion only of the ancient Colchos, has long fuftained an exportation of twelve thousand flaves. The number of prisoners or criminals would be inadequate to the annual demand; but the common people are in a state of fervitude to their lords; the exercise of fraud

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or

^{23.} Buffon (Hift. Nat. tom. iii. p. 433—437.) collects the unanimous fuffrage of naturalists and travellers. If, in the time of Herodotus, they were in truth μελουχχρος and ελοτειχες (and he had observed them with care), this precious fact is an example of the influence of climate on a foreign colony.

CHAP. or rapine is unpunished in a lawless community; and the market is continually replenished by the abuse of civil and paternal authority. Such a trade 74, which reduces the human species to the level of cattle, may tend to encourage marriage and population, fince the multitude of children enriches their fordid and inhuman parent. this fource of impure wealth must inevitably poison the national manners, obliterate the sense of honour and virtue, and almost extinguish the instincts of nature; the Christians of Georgia and Mingrelia are the most dissolute of mankind; and their children, who in a tender age, are fold into foreign flavery, have already learnt, to imitate the rapine of the father and the proftitution of the mother. Yet, amidst the rudest ignorance, the untaught natives discover a fingular dexterity both of mind and hand; and although the want of union and discipline exposes them to their more powerful neighbours, a bold and intripid fpirit has animated the Colchians of every age. In the hoft of Xerxes, they ferved on foot; and their arms were, a dagger or a javelin, a wooden casque, and a buckler of raw hides. But in their own country the use of cavalry has more generally prevailed: the meanest of the peasants disdain to walk; the martial nobles are posfeffed perhaps of two hundred horses; and above five thousand are numbered in the train of the

Prince

⁷⁴ The Mingrelian ambassador arrived at Constantinople with two hundred persons; but he ate (sold) them day by day, till his retinue was diminished to a secretary and two valets (Tavernier, tom. i. p. 365.). To purchase his mistress, a Mingrelian gentleman fold twelve priests and his wife to the Turks (Chardin, tom. i. p. 66.).

Prince of Mingrelia. The Colchian government C H A P. has been always a pure and hereditary kingdom; and the authority of the fovereign is only reftrained by the turbulence of his fubjects. Whenever they were obedient, he could lead a numerous army into the field; but fome faith is requisite to believe, that the fingle tribe of the Suanians was composed of two hundred thousand foldiers, or that the population of Mingrelia now amounts to four millions of inhabitants 75.

It was the boast of the Colchians, that their an- Revoluceftors had checked the victories of Sefostris; and tions of the defeat of the Egyptian is less incredible than his fuccefsful progress as far as the foot of Mount Caucafus. They funk, without any memorable effort, under the arms of Cyrus; followed in diftant wars the flandard of the Great King, and presented him every fifth year with one hundred under the boys and as many virgins, the fairest produce of Persians, the land 76. Yet he accepted this gift like the Christ gold and ebony of India, the frankincense of the Arabs, or the negroes and ivory of Æthiopia: the Colchians were not subject to the dominion of a fatrap, and they continued to enjoy the name as well as fubstance of national independence 77.

⁷⁵ Strabo, l. xi. p. 765. Lamberti, Relation de la Mingrelle. Yet we must avoid the contrary extreme of Chardin, who allows no more than 20,000 inhabitants to supply an annual exportation of 12,000 slaves: an abfurdity unworthy of that judicious traveller.

⁶⁷ Herodot. I. iii. c. 97. See, in 1. vii. c. 79. their arms and fervice in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece.

⁷⁷ Kenophon, who had encountered the Colchians in his retreat (Anabasis, l. iv. p. 320. 343. 348. edit. Hutchinson; and Foster's Differtation, p. 53-58. in Spelman's English version, vol. ii.), styles them αυτονομοι. Before the conquest of Mithridates, they are named by Ap-

under the Romans. before Christ 60.

C H A P. After the fall of the Persian empire, Mithridates, King of Pontus, added Colchos to the wide circle of his dominions on the Euxine; and when the natives prefumed to request that his fon might reign over them, he bound the ambitious youth in chains of gold, and delegated a fervant in his place. In the pursuit of Mithridates, the Romans advanced to the banks of the Phasis, and their gallies ascended the river till they reached the camp of Pompey and his legions 78. But the fenate, and afterwards the emperors, difdained to reduce that diffant and ufeless conquest into the form of a province. The family of a Greek rhetorician was permitted to reign in Colchos and the adjacent kingdoms, from the time of Mark Antony to that of Nero; and after the race of Polemo 79 was extinct, the eaftern Pontus, which preserved his name, extended no farther than the neighbourhood of Trebizond. Beyond the felimits the fortifications of Hyssus, of Apfarus, of the Phasis, of Dioscurias or Sebastopolis, and of Pityus, were guarded by fufficient detachments of horse and foot; and fix princes of Colchos received their diadems from the lieutenants of Ca-

> pian εθνος αρειμανες (de Bell. Mithridatico, c. 15. tom. i. p. 661. of the last and best edition, by John Schweighæuser, Lipsiæ, 1785. 3 vols. large octavo).

> 78 The conquest of Colchos by Mithridates and Pompey, is marked by Appian (de Bell. Mithridat.) and Plutarch (in Vit. Pomp.).

⁷⁹ We may trace the rife and fall of the family of Polemo, in Strabo (1. xi. p. 755. 1. xii. p. 867.), Dion Caffius or Xiphilin (p. 588. 503. 601. 719. 754. 915. 946. edit. Reimar.), Suetonius (in Neron. c. 18. in Vefpafian. c. 8.) Eutropius (vii. 14.), Josephus (Antiq. Judaic. l. xx. c. 7. p. 970. edit. Havercamp), and Eusebius (Chron. with Scaliger, Animadvers. p. 196.),

One of these lieutenants, the eloquent and CHAP. philosophic Arrian, surveyed, and has described, the Euxine coast, under the reign of Hadrian. Visit of The garrison which he reviewed at the mouth of Arrian, the Phasis, consisted of four hundred chosen legionaries; the brick walls and towers, the double ditch, and the military engines on the rampart, rendered this place inaccessible to the barbarians; but the new fuburbs, which had been built by the merchants and veterans, required, in the opinion of Arrian, some external desence so: As the strength of the empire was gradually impaired, the Romans stationed on the Phasis, were either withdrawn or expelled; and the tribe of the Lazi^{s1}, whose posterity speak a foreign dialect and inhabit the fea-coast of Trebizond, imposed their name and dominion on the ancient kingdom of Colchos. Their independence was foon invaded by a formidable neighbour, who had acquired, by arms and treaties, the fovereignty of Iberia. The dependent King of Lazica received his sceptre at the hands of the Persian monarch, and the fucceffors of Constantine acquiesced in this injurious claim, which was proudly urged as a right of immemorial prescription. In the be-

⁸⁰ In the time of Procopius, there were no Roman forts on the Phasis. Pityus and Sebastopolis were evacuated on the rumour of the Persians (Goth. I. iv. c. 4.); but the latter was afterwards restored by Justinian (de Edif. 1. iv. c. 7.).

⁸¹ In the time of Pliny, Arrian, and Ptolemy, the Lazi were a particular tribe on the northern skirts of Colchos (Cellarius, Geograph, Antiq. tom. ii. p. 222.) in the age of Justinian, they spread, or at least reigned over the whole country. At present, they have migrated along the coast towards Trebizond, and compose a rude sea-faring people, with a peculiar language (Chardin, p. 149. Peyssonel, p. 64.).

Converfion of the Lazi,

CHAP. ginning of the fixth century, their influence was restored by the introduction of Christianity, which the Mingrelians still profess with becoming zeal, without understanding the doctrines, or ob-A. D. 522. ferving the precepts of their religion. After the decease of his father, Zathus was exalted to the regal dignity by the favour of the Great King: but the pious youth abhorred the ceremonies of the Magi, and fought, in the palace of Constantinople, an orthodox baptism, a noble wife, and the alliance of the Emperor Justin. The King of Lazica was folemnly invested with the diadem, and his cloak and tunic of white filk, with a gold border, displayed, in rich embroidery, the figure of his new patron; who foothed the jealoufy of the Perfian court, and excufed the revolt of Colchos, by the venerable names of hospitality and religion. The common interest of both empires imposed on the Colchians the duty of guarding the paffes of mount Caucasus, where a wall of fixty miles is now defended by the monthly fervice of the musqueteers of Mingrelia 82.

Revolt and repentance of the Colchians.

But this honourable connection was foon corrupted by the avarice and ambition of the Romans. Degraded from the rank of allies, the Lazi were inceffantly reminded by words and actions, of their dependent flate. At the diffance

⁸² John Malala, Chron. tom. ii. p. 134—137. Theophanes, p. 144. Hist. Miscell. l. xv. p. 103. The fact is authentic, but the date seems too recent. In speaking of their Persian alliance, the Lazi contemporaries of Justinian employ the most obsolete words — εν γραμμασι μνημειας, προγονοι, &c. Could they belong to a connection which had not been diffolved above twenty years ?

of a day's journey beyond the Apfarus, they be- CHAP. held the rifing fortress of Petra 83, which commanded the maritime country to the fouth of the Phasis. Instead of being protected by the valour, 542-549. Colchos was infulted by the licentiousness, of foreign mercenaries; the benefits of commerce were converted into base and vexatious monopoly; and Gubazes, the native prince, was reduced to a pageant of royalty, by the fuperior influence of the officers of Justinian. Disappointed in their expectations of Christian virtue, the indignant Lazi reposed some confidence in the justice of an unbeliever. After a private affurance that their ambaffador should not be delivered to the Romans, they publicly folicited the friendship and aid of Chofroes. The fagacious monarch inftantly differend the use and importance of Colchos; and meditated a plan of conquest, which was renewed at the end of a thousand years by Shah Abbas, the wifeft and most powerful of his fucceffors 34. His ambition was fired by the hope of launching a Perfian navy from the Phasis, of commanding the trade and navigation of the Euxine fea, of defolating the coast of Pontus and Bithynia, of diffreffing, perhaps of attacking,

Agathias. Most of the towns and castles of Lazica may be found by comparing their names and position with the map of Mingrelia, in Lamberti.

⁸⁴ See the amufing letters of Pietro della Valle, the Roman traveller (Viaggi, tom.ii. 207. 209. 213. 215. 266. 286. 300. tom.iii. p. 54. 127.). In the years 1618, 1619, and 1620, he conversed with Shah Abbas, and strongly encouraged a design which might have united Persia and Europe against their common enemy the Turk.

XLII.

CHAP. Constantinople, and of persuading the Barbarians of Europe to fecond his arms and counfels against the common enemy of mankind. Under the pretence of a Scythian war, he filently led his troops to the frontiers of Iberia; the Colchian guides were prepared to conduct them through the woods and along the precipices of Mount Caucasus; and a narrow path was laboriously formed into a fafe and spacious highway, for the march of cavalry, and even of elephants. Gubazes laid his person and diadem at the feet of the King of Persia; his Colchians imitated the submission of their prince; and after the walls of Petra had been shaken, the Roman garrison prevented, by a capitulation, the impending fury of the last assault. But the Lazi foon discovered, that their impatience had urged them to choose an evil more intolerable than the calamities which they strove to escape. The monopoly of falt and corn was effectually removed by the loss of those The authority of a Rovaluable commodities. man legislator was succeeded by the pride of an Oriental despot, who beheld, with equal disdain, the flaves whom he had exalted, and the kings whom he had humbled before the footftool of his The adoration of fire was introduced throne. into Colchos by the zeal of the Magi: their intolerant spirit provoked the fervour of a Christian people; and the prejudice of nature or education was wounded by the impious practice of exposing the dead bodies of their parents, on the fummit of a lofty tower, to the crows and vultures of the air. air85. Conscious of the increasing hatred, which CHAP. retarded the execution of his great defigns, the XLII. just Nushirvan had fecretly given orders to affaffinate the King of the Lazi, to transplant the people into fome diffant land, and to fix a faithful and warlike colony on the banks of the Phasis. The watchful jealoufy of the Colchians forefaw and averted the approaching ruin. Their repentance was accepted at Conftantinople by the prudence, rather than the clemency, of Justinian; and he commanded Dagisteus, with seven thoufand Romans, and one thousand of the Zani, to expel the Persians from the coast of the Euxine.

The fiege of Petra, which the Roman general, Siege of with the aid of the Lazi, immediately undertook, Petra, is one of the most remarkable actions of the age. 549-551. The city was feated on a craggy rock, which hung over the sea, and communicated by a steep and narrow path with the land. Since the approach was difficult, the attack might be deemed impossible; the Persian conqueror had strengthened the fortifications of Justinian; and the places least inaccessible were covered by additional bulwarks. In this important fortrefs, the vigilance of Chofroes had deposited a magazine of offensive and defensive arms, fufficient for five times the number, not only of the garrison, but of the be-

85 See Herodotus (l. i. c. 140. p. 69.), who speaks with diffidence, Larcher (tom.i. p.399-401. Notes fur Herodote), Procopius (Perfic. l. i. c. II.), and Agathias (l. ii. p. 61, 62.). This practice, agreeable to the Zandavesta (Hyde, de Relig. Pers. c. 34. p. 414-421.), demonstrates that the burial of the Persian kings (Xenophon. Cyropæd. 1. viii, p. 658), τι γαρ τετε μακεριωτερον τε τη γη μεχθηναι, is a Greek fiction, and that their tombs could be no more than cenotaphs

fiegers

CHAP. fiegers themselves. The stock of flour and salt provisions was adequate to the confumption of five years; the want of wine was supplied by vinegar, and of grain from whence a strong liquor was extracted; and a triple aqueduct eluded the diligence, and even the fuspicions, of the enemy. But the firmest defence of Petra was placed in the valour of fifteen hundred Perfians, who relifted the affaults of the Romans, whilft, in a fofter vein of earth, a mine was fecretly perforated. The wall, supported by slender and temporary props, hung tottering in the air; but Dagisteus delayed the attack till he had fecured a specific recompence; and the town was relieved before the return of his messenger from Constantinople. The Persian garrison was reduced to four hundred men, of whom no more than fifty were exempt from fickness or wounds; yet fuch had been their inflexible perseverance, that they concealed their losses from the enemy, by enduring, without a murmur, the fight and putrifying stench of the dead bodies of their eleven hundred companions. After their deliverance, the breaches were haftily stopped with fand-bags; the mine was replenished with earth; a new wall was erected on a frame of substantial timber; and a fresh garrison of three thousand men was flationed at Petra to fuflain the labours of a fecond fiege. The operations, both of the attack and defence, were conducted with skilful obstinacy; and each party derived useful lessons from the experience of their past faults. tering ramwas invented, of light construction and powerful

powerful effect; it was transported and worked CHAP by the hands of forty foldiers; and as the stones were loofened by its repeated ftrokes, they were torn with long iron hooks from the wall. From those walls, a shower of darts was incessantly poured on the heads of the affailants, but they were most dangerously annoyed by a fiery composition of fulphur and bitumen, which in Colchos might with fome propriety be named the oil of Medea. Of fix thousand Romans who mounted the scaling-ladders, their general, Besfas, was the first, a gallant veteran of seventy years of age: the courage of their leader, his fall, and extreme danger, animated the irrefiftible effort of his troops; and their prevailing numbers oppressed the ftrength, without fubduing the spirit, of the Persian garrison. The fate of these valiant men deserves to be more distinctly noticed. Seven hundred had perished in the siege, two thousand three hundred survived to defend the breach. One thousand and seventy were destroyed with fire and fword in the last assault; and if feven hundred and thirty were made prisoners, only eighteen among them were found without the marks of honourable wounds. The remaining five hundred escaped into the citadel, which they maintained without any hopes of relief, rejecting the fairest terms of capitulation and service, till they were loft in the flames. They died in obedience to the commands of their prince; and fuch examples of loyalty and valour might excite their countrymen to deeds of equal despair and more prosperous event. The instant demolition

C H A P. lition of the works of Petra confessed the astonish. ment and apprehension of the conqueror.

The Colchian or Lazic war, A.D.

. A Spartan would have praifed and pitied the

virtue of these heroic slaves; but the tedious warfare and alternate fuccess of the Roman and Per-549-556. fian arms cannot detain the attention of posterity at the foot of Mount Caucasus. The advantages obtained by the troops of Justinian were more frequent and splendid; but the forces of the Great King were continually supplied, till they amounted to eight elephants and feventy thousand men, including twelve thousand Scythian allies, and above three thousand Dilemites, who descended by their free choice from the hills of Hyrcania, and were equally formidable in close or in distant combat. The fiege of Archæopolis, a name imposed or corrupted by the Greeks, was raised with some loss and precipitation; but the Perfians occupied the passes of Iberia: Colchos was enflaved by their forts and garrifons; they devoured the fcanty fuftenance of the people; and the prince of the Lazi fled into the mountains. In the Roman camp, faith and discipline were unknown; and the independent leaders, who were invested with equal power, disputed with each other the pre-eminence of vice and corruption. The Perfians followed, without a murmur, the commands of a fingle chief, who implicitly obeyed the inftructions of their fupreme lord. Their general was diffinguished among the heroes of the East, by his wisdom in council, The advanced age and his valour in the field. of Mermeroes, and the lameness of both his feet, could 19 99

could not diminish the activity of his mind. or CHAP. even of his body; and whilft he was carried in a litter in the front of battle, he inspired terror to the enemy, and a just confidence to the troops, who, under his banners, were always fuccefsful. After his death, the command devolved to Nacoragan, a proud fatrap, who, in conference with the imperial chiefs, had prefumed to declare that he disposed of victory as absolutely as of the ring on his finger. Such prefumption was the natural cause and forerunner of a shameful defeat. The Romans had been gradually repulfed to the edge of the fea-shore; and their last camp, on the ruins of the Grecian colony of Phasis, was defended on all fides by ftrong intrenchments, the river, the Euxine, and a fleet of gallies. Despair united their counfels and invigorated their arms; they withstood the assaults of the Persians; and the flight of Nacoragan preceded or followed the flaughter of ten thousand of his bravest foldiers. He escaped from the Romans to fall into the hands of an unforgiving mafter, who feverely chaftifed the error of his own choice; the unfortunate general was flayed alive, and his fkin, fluffed into the human form, was exposed on a mountain; a dreadful warning to those who might hereafter be entrusted with the fame and fortune of Persia 86. Yet the prudence of Chosroes insenfibly relinquished the profecution of the Colchian

⁸⁶ The punishment of flaying alive could not be introduced into Persia by Sapor (Brison de Regn. Pers. 1. ii. p. 578.), nor could it be copied from the foolish tale of Marsyas the Phrygian piper, most foolifily quoted as a precedent by Agathias (l.iv. p. 132, 133.).

CHAP. war, in the just persuasion that it is impossible to reduce, or, at least, to hold a distant country against the wishes and efforts of its inhabitants. The fidelity of Gubazes fustained the most rigorous trials. He patiently endured the hardships of a favage life, and rejected, with difdain, the specious temptations of the Persian court. The King of the Lazi had been educated in the Christian religion; his mother was the daughter of a fenator; during his youth, he had ferved ten years a filentiary of the Byzantine palace 87, and the arrears of an unpaid falary were a motive of attachment as well as of complaint. But the long continuance of his fufferings extorted from him a naked reprefentation of the truth; and truth was an unpardonable libel on the lieutenants of Justinian, who, amidst the delays of a ruinous war, had spared his enemies and trampled on Their malicious information perhis allies. fuaded the Emperor, that his faithless vaffal already meditated a fecond defection: an order was furprifed to fend him prifoner to Conftantinople; a treacherous clause was inserted, that he might be lawfully killed in case of resistance; and Gubazes, without arms, or fuspicion of danger, was stabbed in the security of a friendly interview. In the first moments of rage and defpair the Colchians would have facrificed their country and religion to the gratification of re-

⁸⁷In the palace of Conftantinople there were thirty filentiaries, who are flyled hastati ante fores cubiculi, THE GIYNE ETIS WTAL, an honourable title, which conferred the rank, without imposing the duties, of a fenator (Cod. Theodos. l. vi. tit. 23. Gothofred Comment. tom. ii. p. 129.).

But the authority and eloquence of the CHAP. wifer few, obtained a falutary pause: the victory XLII. of the Phasis restored the terror of the Roman arms, and the Emperor was folicitous to abfolve his own name from the imputation of fo foul a A judge of fenatorial rank was commurder. missioned to enquire into the conduct and death of the King of the Lazi. He ascended a stately tribunal, encompassed by the ministers of justice and punishment: in the presence of both nations, this extraordinary cause was pleaded, according to the forms of civil jurisprudence, and some satisfaction was granted to an injured people, by the fentence and execution of the meaner criminals 88.

In peace, the King of Persia continually sought Negociathe pretences of a rupture; but no fooner had he treaties taken up arms, than he expressed his desire of a between fafe and honourable treaty. During the fiercest Justinian and Chofhostilities, the two monarchs entertained a deceit-roes, ful negociation; and fuch was the fuperiority of A.D. Chofroes, that whilft he treated the Roman minifters with infolence and contempt, he obtained the most unprecedented honours for his own ambasfadors at the Imperial court. The fuccessor of Cyrus affumed the majesty of the Eastern sun, and graciously permitted his younger brother Justinian to reign over the West, with the pale and reflected splendour of the moon. This gigantic ftyle was supported by the pomp and eloquence

⁸⁸ On these judicial orations, Agathias (l. iii. p. 81-89. l. iv. p. 108 _____IIQ.) lavishes eighteen or twenty pages of false and florid rhetoric. His ignorance or carelefsness overlooks the strongest argument against the King of Lazica-his former revolt.

CHAP. of Isdigune, one of the royal chamberlains. wife and daughters, with a train of eunuchs and camels, attended the march of the ambaffador: two fatraps with golden diadems were numbered among his followers: he was guarded by five hundred horse, the most valiant of the Persians; and the Roman governor of Dara wifely refused to admit more than twenty of this martial and hoftile caravan. When Ifdigune had faluted the Emperor, and delivered his prefents, he paffed ten months at Constantinople without discussing any ferious affairs. Instead of being confined to his palace, and receiving food and water from the hands of his keepers, the Persian ambassador, without fpies or guards, was allowed to vifit the capital; and the freedom of conversation and trade enjoyed by his domestics, offended the prejudices of an age which rigorously practifed the law of nations, without confidence or courtefyso. By an unexampled indulgence, his interpreter, a fervant below the notice of a Roman magistrate, was feated, at the table of Justinian, by the fide of his mafter; and one thousand pounds of gold might be affigned for the expence of his journey and entertainment. Yet the repeated labours of Isdigune could procure only a partial and imperfect truce, which was always purchased with the treafures, and renewed at the folicitation, of the Byzantine court. Many years of fruitless desola-

⁸⁹ Procopius represents the practice of the Gothic court of Ravenna (Goth. l.i. c. 7.); and foreign ambassadors have been treated with the same jealoufy and rigour in Turkey (Busbequius, epist. iii. p. 149. 242, &c.). Ruffia (Voyage D'Olearius), and China (Narrative of M. de Lange. in Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 189 — 311.).

tion elapsed before Justinian and Chosroes were CHAP. compelled, by mutual lassitude, to consult the repose of their declining age. At a conference held on the frontier, each party, without expecting to gain credit, displayed the power, the justice, and the pacific intentions, of their respective fovereigns: but necessity and interest dictated the treaty of peace, which was concluded for a term of fifty years, diligently composed in the Greek and Persian language, and attested by the feals of twelve interpeters. The liberty of commerce and religion was fixed and defined; the allies of the Emperor and the Great King were included in the same benefits and obligations; and the most fcrupulous precautions were provided to prevent or determine the accidental disputes that might arise on the confines of two hostile nations. After twenty years of destructive though feeble war, the limits still remained without alteration; and Chofroes was perfuaded to renounce his dangerous claim to the poffession or fovereignty of Colchos and its dependent states. Rich in the accumulated treasures of the East, he extorted from the Romans an annual payment of thirty thousand pieces of gold; and the finallness of the fum revealed the disgrace of a tribute in its naked deformity. In a previous debate, the chariot of Sefoftris, and the wheel of fortune, were applied by one of the ministers of Justinian, who observed that the reduction of Antioch, and some Syrian cities, had elevated beyond measure the vain and ambitious spirit of the Barbarian. "Your are mistaken,"

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снар. taken," replied the modest Persian: " the King of kings, the Lord of mankind, looks down with contempt on fuch petty acquisitions; and " of the ten nations, vanquished by his invin-" cible arms, he esteems the Romans as the least formidable "." According to the Orientals, the empire of Nushirvan extended from Ferganah, in Transoxiana, to Yemen or Arabia Fælix. He subdued the rebels of Hyrcania, reduced the provinces of Cabul and Zablestan on the banks of the Indus, broke the power of the Euthalites, terminated by an honourable treaty the Turkish war, and admitted the daughter of the Great Khan into the number of his lawful wives. Victorious and respected among the princes of Asia, he gave audience, in his palace of Madain, or Ctefiphon, to the ambaffadors of the world. Their gifts or tributes, arms, rich garments, gems, flaves, or aromatics, were humbly presented at the foot of his throne; and he condescended to accept from the King of India ten quintals of the wood of aloes, a maid feven cubits in height, and a carpet fofter than filk, the skin, as it was reported, of an extraordinary ferpent of.

Conquest of the Abyffi-

Justinian had been reproached for his alliance with the Æthiopians, as if he attempted to introduce a people of favage negroes into the A.D. 522. syftem of civilized society. But the friends of

⁹º The negociations and treaties between Justinian and Chofroes are copiously explained by Procopius (Persic. l. ii. c. 10. 13. 26, 27, 28. Gothic, I. ii. c. 11. 15.), Agathias (l. iv. p. 141, 142.), and Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 132-147.). Confult Barbeyrac, Hift. des Anciens Traites, tom. ii. p. 154. 181-184. 193-200. 91 D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 680, 681. 294, 295.

the Roman empire, the Axumities, or Abyf- CHAP. finians, may be always diftinguished from the XLII. original natives of Africa 92. The hand of nature has flattened the nofes of the negroes, covered their heads with shaggy wool, and tinged their skin with inherent and indelible blackness. But the olive complexion of the Abyffinians, their hair, shape, and features, distinctly mark them as a colony of Arabs; and this descent is confirmed by the refemblance of language and manners, the report of an ancient emigration, and the narrow interval between the shores of the Red Sea. Christianity had raised that nation above the level of African barbarism 93; their intercourse with Egypt, and the successors of Constantine 94, had communicated the rudiments of the arts and sciences; their vessels

⁹² See Buffon, Hift. Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 449. This Arab cast of features and complexion, which has continued 3400 years (Ludolph. Hift. et Comment. Æthiopic. l. i. c. 4.) in the colony of Abystinia, will justify the suspicion, that race, as well as climate, must have contributed to form the negroes of the adjacent and similar regions.

⁹³ The Portuguese missionaries, Alvarez (Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 204. rect. 274 vers.), Burmudez (Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii. l. v. c. 7. p. 1149—1188.), Lobo (Relation, &c. par M. le Grand, with xv Dissertations. Paris, 1728), and Tellez (Relations de Thevenot, part iv.), could only relate of modern Abyssina what they had seen or invented. The erudition of Ludolphus (Hist. Æthiopica, Francosurt. 1681. Commentarius, 1691. Appendix, 1694), in twenty-sive languages, could add little concerning its ancient history. Yet the same of Caled, or Elisthæus, the conqueror of Yemen, is celebrated in national songs and legends.

⁹⁴ The negociations of Justinian with the Axumites, or Æthiopians, are recorded by Procopius (Perfic. l.i. c. 19, 20.) and John Malala, tom. ii. p. 163—165. 193—196). The historian of Antioch quotes the original narrative of the ambassador Nonnosus, of which Photius (Bibliot. cod. iii.) has preserved a curious extract.

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CHAP. traded to the Isle of Ceylon 95, and feven kingdoms obeyed the Negus or supreme Prince of Abyffinia. The independence of the Homerites, who reigned in the rich and happy Arabia, was first violated by an Æthiopian conqueror; he drew his hereditary claim from the Queen of Sheba 56, and his ambition was fanctified by re-The Jews, powerful and active in ligious zeal. exile, had feduced the mind of Dunaan, Prince of the Homerites. They urged him to retaliate the perfecution inflicted by the Imperial laws on their unfortunate brethren: some Roman merchants were injuriously treated; and several Christians of Negra 97 were honoured with the crown of martrydom 98. The churches of Arabia implored the protection of the Abyffinian monarch. The Negus passed the Red Sea with a fleet and army, deprived the Jewish proselyte of his kingdom and life, and extinguished a race of princes, who had ruled above two thoufand years the sequestered region of myrrh and frankincenfe. The conqueror immediately an-

⁵⁵ The trade of the Axumites to the coast of India and Africa, and the Isle of Ceylon, is curiously represented by Cosmas Indicopleustes (Topograph. Christian. l. ii. p. 132. 138, 139, 140. l. xi. p. 338, 339).

⁹⁶ Ludolph. Hift. et Comment. Æthiop. l. ii. c. 3.

⁹⁷ The city of Negra, or Nag'ran, in Yemen, is furrounded with palm trees, and stands in the high-road between Saana, the capital, and Mecca, from the former ten, from the latter twenty days journey of a caravan of camels (Abulfeda, Descript. Arabiæ, p. 52.).

⁹⁸ The martyrdom of St. Arethas Prince of Negra, and his three hundred and forty companions, is embellished in the legends of Metaphrastes and Nicephorus Callistus, copied by Baronius (A. D. 522, N° 22-66. A. D. 523, N° 16-29.), and refuted, with obscure diligence, by Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, tom. xii. l. viii. c. ii. p. 333-348.) who investigates the state of the Jews in Arabia and Æthiopia.

nounced the victory of the gospel, requested an CHAP. orthodox patriarch, and fo warmly professed his . XLII. friendship to the Roman empire, that Justinian was flattered by the hope of diverting the filk trade through the channel of Abyssinia, and of exciting the forces of Arabia against the Persian king. Nonnofus, descended from a family of Their alliambaffadors, was named by the Emperor to exe- Juftinian, cute this important commission. He wisely de- A.D. 533. clined the shorter, but more dangerous, road through the fandy deferts of Nubia; ascended the Nile, embarked on the Red Sea, and fafely landed at the African port of Adulis. From Adulis to the royal city of Axume is no more than fifty leagues, in a direct line; but the winding passes of the mountains detained the ambasfador fifteen days; and as he traverfed the forests, he faw, and vaguely computed, about five thoufand wild elephants. The capital, according to his report, was large and populous; and the village of Axume is still conspicuous by the regal coronations, by the ruins of a Christian temple, and by fixteen or feventeen obelifks inscribed with Grecian characters 97. But the Negus gave audience in the open field, feated on a lofty chariot, which was drawn by four elephants fuperbly caparifoned, and furrounded by his nobles and muficians. He was clad in a linen garment and

⁹⁹ Alvarez (in Ramusio, tom. 1. fol. 219 vers. 221 vers.) saw the flourishing state of Axume in the year 1520 -luogo molto buonoe grande. It was ruined in the fame century by the Turkish invasion. No more than one hundred houses remain; but the memory of its past greatness is preserved by the regal coronation (Ludolph. Hift. et Comment. l. ii. c. 11.).

снар, holding in his hand two javelins and a light shield; and, although his nakedness was imperfeetly covered, he displayed the Barbaric pomp of gold chains, collars, and bracelets, richly adorned with pearls and precious stones. ambaffador of Justinian knelt; the Negus raised him from the ground, embraced Nonnosus, kissed the feal, perused the letter, accepted the Roman alliance, and brandishing his weapons, denounced implacable war against the worshippers of fire. But the propofal of the filk trade was eluded; and notwithstanding the assurances, and perhaps the wishes, of the Abyffinians, these hostile menaces evaporated without effect. The Homerites were unwilling to abandon their aromatic groves, to explore a fandy defert, and to encounter, after all their fatigues, a formidable nation from whom they had never received any personal injuries. Instead of enlarging his conquests the King of Æthiopia was incapable of defending his possessions. Abrahah, the slave of a Roman merchant of Adulis, assumed the fceptre of the Homerites; the troops of Africa were feduced by the luxury of the climate; and Justinian solicited the friendship of the usurper, who honoured, with a flight tribute, the fupremacy of his prince. After a long feries of profperity, the power of Abrahah was overthrown before the gates of Mecca; his children were despoiled by the Persian conqueror; and the Æthiopians were finally expelled from the continent of Asia. This narrative of obscure and remote events is not foreign to the decline and fall el in

fall of the Roman empire. If a Christian power c HAP. had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world reo.

The revolutions of Yemen in the fixth century must be collected from Procopius (Persic. 1.i. c. 19, 20.), Theophanes Byzant. (apud Photcod. 1xiii. p. 80.), St. Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 144, 145. 188, 189. 206, 207. who is full of strange blunders), Pocock (Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 62. 65.), D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 12. 477.), and Sale's Preliminary Discourse and Koran (c. 105.). The revolt of Abrahah is mentioned by Procopius; and his fall, though clouded with miracles, is an historical fact.

CHAP. XLIII.

Rebellions of Africa. - Restoration of the Gothic Kingdom by Totila. - Loss and Recovery of Rome. — Final Conquest of Italy by Narses.— Extinction of the Ostrogoths. — Defeat of the Franks and Alemanni. — Last Victory, Disgrace, and Death of Belisarius. - Death and Character of Justinian. - Comet, Earthquakes, and Plague.

XLIII.

CHAP. THE review of the nations from the Danube to the Nile, has exposed, on every fide, the weakness of the Romans; and our wonder is reafonably excited that they should presume to enlarge an empire, whose ancient limits they were incapable of defending. But the wars, the conquests, and the triumphs of Justinian, are the feeble and pernicious efforts of old age, which exhauft the remains of strength, and accelerate the decay of the powers of life. He exulted in the glorious act of restoring Africa and Italy to the republic; but the calamities which followed the departure of Belifarius betrayed the impotence of the conqueror, and accomplished the ruin of those unfortunate countries.

The troubles of Africa, A. D. 535-545

From his new acquifitions, Justinian expected that his avarice, as well as pride, should be richly gratified. A rapacious minister of the finances closely pursued the footsteps of Belisarius; and as the old registers of tribute had been burnt by the

Vandals,

Vandals, he indulged his fancy in a liberal cal- CHAP. culation and arbitrary affefiment of the wealth of Africa. The increase of taxes, which were drawn away by a diftant fovereign, and a general refumption of the patrimony or crown lands, foon dispelled the intoxication of the public joy: but the Emperor was infensible to the modest complaints of the people, till he was awakened and alarmed by the clamours of military discontent. Many of the Roman foldiers had married the widows and daughters of the Vandals. As their own, by the double right of conquest and inheritance, they claimed the estates which Genseric had affigned to his victorious troops. They heard with difdain the cold and felfish representations of their officers, that the liberality of Justinian had raifed them from a favage or fervile condition: that they were already enriched by the spoils of Africa, the treasure, the flaves, and the moveables, of the vanquished barbarians; and that the ancient and lawful patrimony of the Emperors would be applied only to the support of that government on which their own fafety and reward must ultimately depend. The mutiny was secretly inflamed by a thousand foldiers, for the most part Heruli, who had imbibed the doctrines,

For the troubles of Africa, I neither have nor defire another guide than Procopius, whose eye contemplated the image, and whose ear collected the reports, of the memorable events of his own times. In the second book of the Vandalic war he relates the revolt of Stozas (c. 14—24.), the return of Belisarius (c. 15), the victory of Germanus (c. 16, 17, 18.), the second administration of Solomon (c. 19, 20, 21.) the government of Sergius (c. 22, 23.), of Areobindus (c. 24.), the tyranny and death of Gontharis (c. 25, 26, 27, 28); nor can I discern any symptoms of flattery or malevolence in his various portraits.

CHAP. and were infligated by the clergy, of the Arian fect; and the cause of perjury and rebellion was fanctified by the dispensing powers of fanaticism. The Arians deplored the ruin of their church, triumphant above a century in Africa; and they were justly provoked by the laws of the conqueror, which interdicted the baptism of their children, and the exercise of all religious worship. Of the Vandals chosen by Belifarius, the far greater part, in the honours of the Eastern service, forgot their country and religion. But a generous band of four hundred obliged the mariners, when they were in fight of the ifle of Leibos, to alter their course: they touched on Peloponnesus, ran ashore on a desert coast of Africa, and boldly erected, on Mount Aurasius, the standard of independence and revolt. While the troops of the province disclaimed the command of their superiors, a conspiracy was formed at Carthage against the life of Solomon, who filled with honour the place of Belifarius; and the Arians had piously resolved to sacrifice the tyrant at the foot of the altar, during the awful mysteries of the festival of Easter. Fear or remorfe reftrained the daggers of the affaffins, but the patience of Solomon emboldened their discontent; and at the end of ten days, a furious fedition was kindled in the Circus, which defolated Africa above ten years. The pillage of the city, and the indifcriminate flaughter of its inhabitants, were fuspended only by darkness, sleep, and intoxication: the governor, with feven companions, among whom was the historian Pro= Procopius, escaped to Sicily: two-thirds of the CHAP. army were involved in the guilt of treason; and eight thousand infurgents, affembling in the field of Bulla, elected Stoza for their chief, a private foldier, who poffessed in a superior degree the virtues of a rebel. Under the mask of freedom, his eloquence could lead, or at least impel, the paffions of his equals. He raifed himself to a level with Belifarius, and the nephew of the Emperor, by daring to encounter them in the field; and the victorious generals were compelled to acknowledge, that Stoza deferved a purer cause, and a more legitimate command. Vanquished in battle, he dexterously employed the arts of negociation; a Roman army was feduced from their allegiance, and the chiefs who had trufted to his faithless promise were murdered by his order in a church of Numidia. When every resource, either of force or perfidy, was exhausted, Stoza, with fome desperate Vandals, retired to the wilds of Mauritania, obtained the daughter of a Barbarian prince, and eluded the pursuit of his enemies, by the report of his death. personal weight of Belisarius, the rank, the spirit, and the temper, of Germanus, the Emperor's nephew, and the vigour and fuccess of the second administration of the eunuch Solomon, restored the modesty of the camp, and maintained for a while the tranquillity of Africa. But the vices of the Byzantine court were felt in that diftant province; the troops complained that they were neither paid nor relieved, and as foon as the public diforders were fufficiently mature, Stoza was again

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again alive, in arms, and at the gates of Carthage. He fell in a fingle combat, but he fmiled in the agonies of death, when he was informed that his own javelin had reached the heart of his antagonift. The example of Stoza, and the affurance that a fortunate foldier had been the first king, encouraged the ambition of Gontharis. and he promifed, by a private treaty, to divide Africa with the Moors, if, with their dangerous aid, he should ascend the throne of Carthage. The feeble Areobindus, unfkilled in the affairs of peace and war, was raifed by his marriage with the niece of Justinian, to the office of exarch. He was fuddenly oppressed by a fedition of the guards, and his abject fupplications, which provoked the contempt, could not move the pity, of the inexorable tyrant. After a reign of thirty days. Gontharis himfelf was flabbed at a banquet by the hand of Artaban; and it is fingular enough, that an Armenian prince, of the royal family of Arfaces, should re-establish at Carthage the authority of the Roman empire. In the confpiracy which unsheathed the dagger of Brutus against the life of Cæsar, every circumstance is curious and important to the eyes of posterity: but the guilt or merit of these loyal or rebellious affaffins could interest only the contemporaries of Procopius, who, by their hopes and fears, their friendship or resentment, were personally engaged in the revolutions of Africa 2.

² Yet I must not refuse him the merit of painting, in lively colours, the murder of Gontharis. One of the assassing intered a sentiment not unworthy of a Roman patriot: "If Ifail," said Artasires, "in the first stroke, kill me "on the spot, lest the rack should extort a discovery of myaccomplices."

That country was rapidly finking into the ftate C H A P. of barbarism, from whence it had been raised by . the Phœnician colonies and Roman laws: and every ftep of intestine discord was marked by fome deplorable victory of favage man over civilized fociety. The Moors 3, though ignorant of Rebellion justice, were impatient of oppression: their va- Moors. grant life and boundless wilderness disappointed A.D. the arms, and eluded the chains, of a conqueror; and experience had shewn, that neither oaths nor obligations could fecure the fidelity of their attachment. The victory of Mount Auras had awed them into momentary submission; but if they respected the character of Solomon, they hated and despised the pride and luxury of his two nephews, Cyrus and Sergius, on whom their uncle had imprudently bestowed the provincial governments of Tripoli and Pentapolis. A Moorish tribe encamped under the walls of Leptis, to renew their alliance, and receive from the governor the customary gifts. Fourscore of their deputies were introduced as friends into the city; but, on the dark fuspicion of a conspiracy, they were masfacred at the table of Sergius; and the clamour of arms and revenge was re-echoed through the vallies of Mount Atlas, from both the Syrtes to the Atlantic Ocean. A personal injury, the unjust execution or murder of his brother, rendered Antalus the enemy of the Romans. The defeat of the Vandals had formerly fignalized his valour;

³ The Moorish wars are occasionally introduced into the narrative of Procopius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 19-23. 25. 27, 28. Gothic. l. iv. c. 17.); and Theophanes adds fome prosperous and adverse events in the last years of Justinian.

CHAP. the rudiments of justice and prudence were still more conspicuous in a Moor; and while he laid Adrumetum in ashes, he calmly admonished the Emperor that the peace of Africa might be fecured by the recal of Solomon and his unworthy nephews. The exarch led forth his troops from Carthage: but, at the distance of fix days journey in the neighbourhood of Tebeste 4, he was aftonished by the superior numbers and sierce aspect of the barbarians. He proposed a treaty; folicited a reconciliation; and offered to bind himfelf by the most folemn oaths. " By what oaths " can he bind himfelf?" interrupted the indignant Moors. "Will he fwear by the gospels, " the divine books of the Christians? It was on " those books that the faith of his nephew Sergius " was pledged to eighty of our innocent and un-" fortunate brethren. Before we trust them a " fecond time, let us try their efficacy in the " chastisement of perjury and the vindication of "their own honour." Their honour was vindicated in the field of Tebeste, by the death of Solomon, and the total loss of his army. The arrival of fresh troops and more skilful commanders, foon checked the infolence of the Moors; feventeen of their princes were flain in the fame battle; and the doubtful and transient submission of

⁴ Now Tibesh, in the kingdom of Algiers. It is watered by a river, the Sujerafs, which falls into the Mejerda (Bagradas). Tibesh is still remarkable for its walls of large stones (like the Collieum of Rome), a fountain and a grove of walnut-trees: the country is fruitful, and the neighbouring Bereberes are warlike. It appears from an infcription, that under the reign of Adrian, the road from Carthage to Tebeste was constructed by the third legion (Marmol Description de l'Afrique, tom. ii. p. 442, 443. Shaw's Travels, p. 64, 65, 66.). their

their tribes was celebrated with lavish applause CHAP. by the people of Constantinople. Successive inroads had reduced the province of Africa to one third of the measure of Italy; yet the Roman emperors continued to reign above a century over Carthage, and the fruitful coast of the Mediterranean. But the victories and the loffes of Juftinian were alike pernicious to mankind; and fuch was the defolation of Africa, that in many parts a ftranger might wander whole days without meeting the face either of a friend or an enemy. The nation of the Vandals had disappeared; they once amounted to an hundred and fixty thousand warriors, without including the children, the women, or the flaves. Their numbers were infinitely furpaffed by the number of the Moorish families extirpated in a relentless war; and the same destruction was retaliated on the Romans and their allies. who perished by the climate, their mutual quarrels, and the rage of the Barbarians. When Procopius first landed, he admired the populousness of the cities and country, strenuously exercised in the labours of commerce and agriculture. less than twenty years, that busy scene was converted into a filent folitude; the wealthy citizens escaped to Sicily and Constantinople; and the secret historian has confidently affirmed, that five millions of Africans were confumed by the wars

The jealoufy of the Byzantine court had not Revolt of permitted Belifarius to atchieve the conquest of the Goths, A. D. 540.

and government of the Emperor Justinian 5.

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Italy;

⁵ Procopius, Anecdot. c. 18. The feries of the African history attests this melancholy truth.

CHAP. Italy; and his abrupt departure revived the courage of the Goths, who respected his genius, his virtue, and even the laudable motive which had urged the fervant of Justinian to deceive and reiect them. They had loft their King (an inconfiderable loss), their capital, their treasures, the provinces from Sicily to the Alps, and the military force of two hundred thousand Barbarians, magnificently equipped with horses and arms. Yet all was not loft, as long as Pavia was defended by one thousand Goths, inspired by a sense of honour, the love of freedom, and the memory of their past greatness. The supreme command was unanimously offered to the brave Uraias; and it was in his eyes alone that the difgrace of his uncle Vitiges could appear as a reason of exclusion. His voice inclined the election in favour of Hildibald, whose personal merit was recommended by the vain hope that his kinfman Theudes, the Spanish monarch, would support the common interest of the Gothic nation. The success of his arms in Liguria and Venetia seemed to justify their choice; but he foon declared to the world. that he was incapable of forgiving or commanding his benefactor. The confort of Hildibald was deeply wounded by the beauty, the riches, and the pride of the wife of Uraias; and the death of

⁶ In the fecond (c. 30.) and third books (c. 1-40.), Procopius contimes the history of the Gothic war from the fifth to the fifteenth year of Justinian. As the events are less interesting than in the former period, he allots only half the space to double the time. Jornandes and the Chronicle of Marcellinus, afford fome collateral hints. Sigonius, Pagi, Muratori, Mascou, and De Buat, are useful, and have been used.

that virtuous patriot excited the indignation of a C H A P. free people. A bold affaffin executed their fentence by ftriking off the head of Hildibald in the midst of a banquet: the Rugians, a foreign tribe. assumed the privilege of election; and Totila. the nephew of the late King, was tempted, by revenge, to deliver himself and the garrison of Trevigo into the hands of the Romans. the gallant and accomplished youth was easily perfuaded to prefer the Gothic throne before the fervice of Justinian; and as soon as the palace of Pavia had been purified from the Rugian usurper, he reviewed the national force of five thousand foldiers, and generously undertook the reftoration of the kingdom of Italy.

The fucceffors of Belifarius, eleven generals Victories of equal rank, neglected to crush the feeble and of Totila, King of difunited Goths till they were roused to action Italy, by the progress of Totila and the reproaches of A.D. Justinian. The gates of Verona were secretly opened to Artabazus, at the head of one hundred Persians in the service of the empire. The Goths fled from the city. At the distance of fixty furlongs the Roman generals halted to regulate the division of the spoil. While they difputed, the enemy discovered the real number of the victors: the Perfians were infantly overpowered, and it was by leaping from the wall that Artabazus preserved a life which he lost in a few days by the lance of a Barbarian, who had defied him to fingle combat. Twenty thoufand Romans encountered the forces of Totila, near Faenza, and on the hills of Mugello, of

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the

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CHAP. the Florentine territory. The ardour of freedmen, who fought to regain their country, was opposed to the languid temper of mercenary troops, who were even destitute of the merits of strong and well-disciplined servitude. On the first attack they abandoned their enfigns, threw down their arms, and dispersed on all sides with an active speed, which abated the loss, whilft it aggravated the shame, of their defeat. The King of the Goths, who blushed for the baseness of his enemies, purfued with rapid fteps the path of honour and victory. Totila paffed the Po, traversed the Apennine, suspended the important conquest of Ravenna, Florence and Rome, and marched through the heart of Italy, to form the fiege, or rather blockade, of Naples. Roman chiefs, imprisoned in their respective cities, and accufing each other of the common difgrace, did not presume to disturb his enterprife. But the Emperor, alarmed by the diftress and danger of his Italian conquests, dispatched to the relief of Naples a fleet of gallies and a body of Thracian and Armenian foldiers. They landed in Sicily, which yielded its copious flores of provisions; but the delays of the new commander, an unwarlike magistrate, protracted the fufferings of the befieged; and the fuccours, which he dropt with a timid and tardy hand, were fucceffively intercepted by the armed veffels stationed by Totila in the bay of Naples. The principal officer of the Romans was dragged, with a rope round his neck, to the foot of the wall, from whence, with a trembling voice, he exhorted

exhorted the citizens to implore, like himself, the C H A P. mercy of the conqueror. They requested a truce, XLIII. with a promife of furrendering the city, if no effectual relief should appear at the end of thirty days. Instead of one month, the audacious Barbarian granted them three, in the just confidence that famine would anticipate the term of their capitulation. After the reduction of Naples and Cumæ, the provinces of Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria, submitted to the King of the Goths. Totila led his army to the gates of Rome, pitched his camp at Tibur, or Tivoli, within twenty miles of the capital, and calmly exhorted the fenate and people to compare the tyranny of the Greeks with the bleffings of the Gothic reign.

The rapid fuccess of Totila may be partly Contrast of ascribed to the revolution which three years' vice and experience had produced in the fentiments of the Italians. At the command, or at least in the name, of a Catholic Emperor, the Pope 7, their fpiritual father, had been torn from the Roman church, and either flarved or murdered on a defolate ifland 8. The virtues of Belifarius were replaced by the various or uniform vices of eleven chiefs, at Rome, Ravenna, Florence, Perugia, Spoleto, &c. who abused their authority for the indulgence of luft or avarice. The improvement

7 Sylverius, Bishop of Rome, was first transported to Patara, in Lycia, and at length starved (sub eorum custodià inedia confectus) in the isle of Palmaria, A. D. 538, June 20 (Liberat in Breviar. c. 22. Anaftasius in Sylverio. Baronius, A.D. 540. No. 2, 3. Pagi in Vit. Pont. tom. i. p. 285, 286.). Procopius (Anecdot. c. 1.) accuses only the Empress and Antonina.

8 Palmaria, a finall island, opposite to Tarracina and the coast of the Volsci (Cluver. Ital. Antiq. 1. iii. c. 7. p. 1014.).

CHAP. of the revenue was committed to Alexander, a fubtile scribe, long practifed in the fraud and oppression of the Byzantine schools; and whose name of Pfalliction, the scissars, was drawn from the dextrous artifice with which he reduced the fize, without defacing the figure, of the gold coin. Instead of expecting the restoration of peace and industry, he imposed an heavy affestment on the fortunes of the Italians. Yet his present or future demands were less odious than a profecution of arbitrary rigour against the perfons and property of all those, who, under the Gothic kings, had been concerned in the receipt and expenditure of the public money. The fubjects of Justinian, who escaped these partial vexations, were oppreffed by the irregular maintenance of the foldiers, whom Alexander defrauded and despised; and their hasty sallies in . quest of wealth, or subsistence, provoked the inhabitants of the country to await or implore their deliverance from the virtues of a Barbarian. Totila 10 was chafte and temperate; and none were deceived, either friends or enemies, who depended on his faith or his clemency. To the husbandmen of Italy the Gothic King issued a welcome proclamation, enjoining them to purfue their important labours, and the rest assured,

Procopius (l. iii. c. 2. 8, &c.) does ample and willing justice to the merit of Totila. The Roman historians, from Sallust and Tacitus, were happy to forget the vices of their countrymen in the contemplation of Barbaric virtue.

⁹ As the Logothete Alexander, and most of his civil and military colleagues, were either difgraced or despised, the ink of the Anecdotes (c. 4, 5. 18.) is fcarcely blacker than that of the Gothic Hiftory (l. iii. c. 1. 3, 4. 9. 20, 21, &c.).

that, on the payment of the ordinary taxes CHAP. they should be defended by his valour and discipline from the injuries of war. The strong towns he fucceffively attacked; and as foon as they had yielded to his arms, he demolished the fortifications; to fave the people from the calamities of a future fiege, to deprive the Romans of the arts of defence, and to decide the tedious quarrel of the two nations, by an equal and honourable conflict in the field of battle. The Roman captives and deferters were tempted to enlift in the fervice of a liberal and courteous adversary; the flaves were attracted by the firm and faithful promise, that they should never be delivered to their mafters; and from the thousand warriors of Pavia, a new people, under the fame appellation of Goths, was infenfibly formed in the camp of Totila. Hefincerely accomplished thearticles of capitulation, without feeking or accepting any finister advantage from ambiguous expressions or unforeseen events: the garrison of Naples had flipulated, that they should be transported by fea; the obstinacy of the winds prevented their voyage, but they were generously supplied with horses, provisions, and a safe conduct to the gates The wives of the fenators, who had been furprifed in the villas of Campania, were reflored, without a ranfom, to their husbands; the violation of female chaftity was inexorably chaftifed with death; and, in the falutary regulation of the diet of the familhed Neapolitans, the conqueror assumed the office of an humane and attentive physician. The virtues of Totila are equally AA4

C H A P. equally laudable, whether they proceeded from true policy, religious principle, or the instinct of humanity: he often harangued his troops; and it was his conftant theme, that national vice and ruin are inseparably connected; that victory is the fruit of moral as well as military virtue; and that the prince, and even the people, are responfible for the crimes which they neglect to punish.

Second command of Belifarius in Italy, A.D. 544-548.

The return of Belifarius to fave the country which he had fubdued was preffed with equal vehemence by his friends and enemies; and the Gothic war was imposed as a truft or an exile on the veteran commander. An hero on the banks of the Euphrates, a flave in the palace of Conftantinople, he accepted, with reluctance, the painful task of supporting his own reputation, and retrieving the faults of his fucceffors. The fea was open to the Romans: the ships and foldiers were affembled at Salona, near the palace of Diocletian: he refreshed and reviewed his troops at Pola in Istria, coasted round the head of the Hadriatic, entered the port of Ravenna, and difpatched orders rather than supplies to the subordinate cities. His first public oration was addreffed to the Goths and Romans, in the name of the Emperor, who had fuspended for a while the conquest of Persia, and listened to the prayers of his Italian fubjects. He gently touched on the causes and the authors of the recent disafters; striving to remove the fear of punishment for the past, and the hope of impunity for the future, and labouring, with more zeal than fuccefs, to unite all the members of his government in a firm firm league of affection and obedience. Justi- CHAP. nian, his gracious mafter, was inclined to par- XLIII. don and reward; and it was their interest, as well as duty, to reclaim their deluded brethren, who had been feduced by the arts of the usurper. Not a man was tempted to defert the standard of the Gothic King. Belifarius foon discovered, that he was fent to remain the idle and impotent spectator of the glory of a young Barbarian; and his own epiftle exhibits a genuine and lively picture of the diffress of a noble mind. "Most excellent prince, " we are arrived in Italy, destitute of all the neces-" fary implements of war, men, horses, arms, and "money. In our late circuit through the villages " of Thrace and Illyricum, we have collected, " with extreme difficulty, about four thousand " recruits, naked, and unskilled in the use of " weapons and the exercises of the camp. The "foldiers already stationed in the province are " discontented, fearful, and dismayed; at the " found of an enemy, they difmifs their horfes, " and cast their arms on the ground. No taxes " can be raifed, fince Italy is in the hands of the "Barbarians; the failure of payment has de-" prived us of the right of command, or even of "admonition. Be affured, dread Sir, that the " greater part of your troops have already de-" ferted to the Goths. If the war could be at-" chieved by the presence of Belisarius alone, "your wifnes are fatisfied; Belifarius is in the " midst of Italy. But if you desire to conquer, " far other preparations are requifite: without a " military force, the title of general is an empty " name.

CHAP. " name. It would be expedient to restore to my " fervice my own veterans and domestic guards. "Before I can take the field, I must receive an " adequate fupply of light and heavy armed "troops; and it is only with ready money that " you can procure the indifpenfible aid of a " powerful body of the cavalry of the Huns"." An officer in whom Belifarius confided was fent from Ravenna to haften and conduct the fuccours; but the meffage was neglected, and the messenger was detained at Constantinople by an advantageous marriage. After his patience had been exhaufted by delay and disappointment, the Roman general re-passed the Hadriatic, and expected at Dyrrachium the arrival of the troops, which were flowly affembled among the fubjects and allies of the empire. His powers were still inadequate to the deliverance of Rome, which was closely befreged by the Gothic King. Appian way, a march of forty days, was covered by the Barbarians; and as the prudence of Belifarius declined a battle, he preferred the fafe and fpeedy navigation of five days from the coast of Epirus to the mouth of the Tyber.

Rome befieged by the Goths, A. D. 546. May.

After reducing, by force or treaty, the towns of inferior note in the midland provinces of Italy, Totila proceeded, not to affault, but to encompass and starve, the ancient capital. Rome was afflicted by the avarice, and guarded by the valour, of Bessas, a veteran chief of Gothic extraction, who

filled.

¹¹ Procopius, l. iii. c. 12. The foul of an hero is deeply impressed on the letter; nor can we confound fuch genuine and original acts with the elaborate and often empty speeches of the Byzantine historians.

filled, with a garrison of three thousand foldiers, C H A P. the spacious circle of her venerable walls. From the diffress of the people he extracted a profitable trade, and fecretly rejoiced in the continuance of the fiege. It was for his use that the granaries had been replenished; the charity of Pope Vigilius had purchased and embarked an ample supply of Sicilian corn; but the veffels which escaped the Barbarians were feized by a rapacious governor, who imparted a fcanty fuftenance to the foldiers, and fold the remainder to the wealthy The medimnus, or fifth part of the Romans. quarter of wheat, was exchanged for feven pieces of gold; fifty pieces were given for an ox, a rare and accidental prize; the progress of famine enhanced this exorbitant value, and the mercenaries were tempted to deprive themselves of the allowance which was scarcely sufficient for the fupport of life. A tafteless and unwholesome mixture, in which the bran thrice exceeded the quantity of flour, appealed the hunger of the poor; they were gradually reduced to feed on dead horses, dogs, cats, and mice, and eagerly to fnatch the grafs, and even the nettles which grew among the ruins of the city. A crowd of spectres, pale and emaciated, their bodies oppressed with disease, and their minds with despair, furrounded the palace of the governor, urged, with unavailing truth, that it was the duty of a mafter to maintain his flaves, and humbly requested, that he would provide for their fubfiftence, permit their flight, or command their immediate execution. Beffas replied, with unfeeling tranquillity, that it was impossible

CHAP. to feed, unsafe to dismiss, and unlawful to kill, the subjects of the Emperor. Yet the example of a private citizen might have shewn his countrymen that a tyrant cannot withhold the privilege of death. Pierced by the cries of five children, who vainly called on their father for bread, he ordered them to follow his steps, advanced with calm and filent despair to one of the bridges of the Tyber, and, covering his face, threw himfelf headlong into the stream, in the presence of his family and the Roman people. To the rich and pufillanimous, Beffas is fold the permission of departure; but the greatest part of the fugitives expired on the public highways, or were intercepted by the flying parties of Barbarians. the meanwhile, the artful governor foothed the discontent, and revived the hopes, of the Romans, by the vague reports of the fleets and armies which were haftening to their relief from the extremities of the East. They derived more rational comfort from the affurance that Belifarius had landed at the port; and, without numbering his forces, they firmly relied on the humanity, the courage, and the skill of their great deliverer.

Attempt of Belifarius.

The forefight of Totila had raifed obftacles worthy of fuch an antagonist. Ninety furlongs below the city, in the narrowest part of the river, he joined the two banks by ftrong and folid timbers in the form of a bridge; on which he

erected

The avarice of Bessas is not dissembled by Procopius (l. iii. c. 17. 20). He expiated the loss of Rome by the glorious conquest of Petræa (Goth, Liv. c. 12.): but the same vices followed him from the Typer to the Phasis (c. 13.); and the historian is equally true to the merits and defects of his character. The chastisement which the author of the romance of Belifaire has inflicted on the oppressor of Rome is more agreeable to justice than to history.

erected two lofty towers, manned by the braveft CHAP. of his Goths, and profusely stored with missile XLIII. weapons and engines of offence. The approach of the bridge and towers was covered by a ftrong and massy chain of iron; and the chain, at either end, on the opposite sides of the Tyber, was defended by a numerous and chosen detachment of archers. But the enterprise of forcing these barriers, and relieving the capital, displays a fhining example of the boldness and conduct of Belifarius. His cavalry advanced from the port along the public road, to awe the motions, and distract the attention, of the enemy. His infantry and provisions were distributed in two hundred large boats; and each boat was shielded by an high rampart of thick planks, pierced with many fmall holes for the discharge of missile weapons. In the front, two large vessels were linked together to fustain a floating castle, which commanded the towers of the bridge, and contained a magazine of fire, fulphur, and bitumen. whole fleet, which the general led in person, was laboriously moved against the current of the river. The chain yielded to their weight, and the enemies who guarded the banks were either flain or fcattered. As foon as they touched the principal barrier, the fire-ship was instantly grappled to the bridge; one of the towers with two hundred Goths, was confumed by the flames; the affailants shouted victory; and Rome was saved, if the wisdom of Belisarius had not been defeated by the misconduct of his officers. He had previously fent orders to Bessas to second his operations by a timely fally from the town; and he had

CHAP. fixed his lieutenant, Isaac, by a peremptory command, to the station of the port. But avarice rendered Bessas immoveable; while the youthful ardour of Isaac delivered him into the hands of a superic enemy. The exaggerated rumour of his defeat was haftily carried to the ears of Belifarius: he paused; betrayed in that fingle moment of his life fome emotions of furprife and perplexity; and reluctantly founded a retreat to fave his wife Antonina, his treasures, and the only harbour which he possessed on the Tuscan coaft. The vexation of his mind produced an ardent and almost mortal fever; and Rome was left without protection to the mercy or indignation of Totila. The continuance of hostilities had embittered the national hatred; the Arian clergy was ignominiously driven from Rome; Pelagius, the Archdeacon, returned without fuccess from an embaffy to the Gothic camp; and a Sicilian Bishop, the envoy or nuncio of the Pope, was deprived of both his hands, for daring to utter falfehoods in the fervice of the church and flate.

Rome taken by the Goths. A. D. 546, Dec. 17.

Famine had relaxed the ftrength and discipline of the garrifon of Rome. They could derive no effectual fervice from a dying people; and the inhuman avarice of the merchant at length abforbed the vigilance of the governor. Four Ifaurian centinels, while their companions slept, and their officers were absent, descended by a rope from the wall, and fecretly proposed to the Gothic King to introduce his troops into the city. The offer was entertained with coldness and suspicion; they returned in fafety; they twice repeated their visit;

the place was twice examined; the confpiracy was CHAP. known and difregarded; and no fooner had Totila XLIII. confented to the attempt, than they unbarred the Afinarian gate, and gave admittance to the Goths. Till the dawn of day they halted in order of battle, apprehensive of treachery or ambush; but the troops of Bessas, with their leader, had already escaped; and when the King was pressed to diffurb their retreat, he prudently replied, that no fight could be more grateful than that of a flying enemy. The patricians, who were ftill poffeffed of horses, Decius, Bafilius, &c. accompanied the governor; their brethren, among whom Olybrius, Oreftes, and Maximus are named by the historian, took refuge in the church of St. Peter; but the affertion, that only five hundred persons remained in the capital, inspires some doubt of the fidelity either of his narrative or of his text. As foon as daylight had displayed the entire victory of the Goths, their monarch devoutly visited the tomb of the prince of the apostles; but while he prayed at the altar, twentyfive foldiers, and fixty citizens, were put to the fword in the veftibule of the temple. The Archdeacon Pelagius 13 flood before him with the gofpels in his hand. "O Lord, be merciful to your "fervant." "Pelagius," faid Totila with an infulting finile, "your pride now condescends " to become a fuppliant." " I am a fuppliant,"

replied

¹³ During the long exile, and after the death of Vigilius, the Roman church was governed, at first by the Archdeacon and at length (A. D. 555.) by the pope Relagius, who was not thought guiltless of the sufferings of his predecessor. See the original lives of the popes under the name of Anastasius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. ii. P. i. p. 130, 131.), who relates several curious incidents of the sieges of Rome and the wars of Italy.

CHAP. replied the prudent Archdeacon; "God has now " made us your subjects, and as your subjects, " we are entitled to your clemency." At his humble prayer, the lives of the Romans were fpared; and the chaftity of the maids and matrons was preserved inviolate from the passions of the hungry foldiers. But they were rewarded by the freedom of pillage, after the most precious spoils had been reserved for the royal treasury. The houses of the senators were plentifully stored with gold and filver; and the avarice of Beffas had laboured with fo much guilt and shame for the benefit of the conqueror. In this revolution, the fons and daughters of Roman confuls tafted the mifery which they had fourned or relieved, wandered in tattered garments through the streets of the city, and begged their bread, perhaps without fuccess, before the gates of their hereditary mansions. The riches of Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus and widow of Boethius, had been generously devoted to alleviate the calamities of famine. But the Barbarians were exasperated by the report, that she had prompted the people to overthrow the flatues of the great Theodoric: and the life of that venerable matron would have been facrificed to his memory, if Totila had not respected her birth, her virtues, and even the pious motive of her revenge. The next day he pronounced two orations, to congratulate and admonish his victorious Goths, and to reproach the fenate, as the vileft of flaves, with their perjury, folly, and ingratitude; fternly declaring, that their estates and honours were justly forfeited to the companions of his arms. Yet he confented to forgive

give their revolt, and the fenators repaid his cle- C H A P. mency by dispatching circular letters to their tenants and vaffals in the provinces of Italy, strictly to enjoin them to defert the standard of the Greeks, to cultivate their lands in peace, and to learn from their mafters the duty of obedience to a Gothic fovereign. Against the city which had so long delayed the course of his victories he appeared inexorable: one-third of the walls, in different parts, were demolished by his command; fire and engines prepared to confume or fubvert the most stately works of antiquity: and the world was aftonished by the fatal decree, that Rome should be changed into a pasture for cattle. The firm and temperate remonstrance of Belifarius suspended the execution; he warned the Barbarian not to fully his fame by the destruction of those monuments which were the glory of the dead, and the delight of the living; and Totila was perfuaded by the advice of an enemy, to preserve Rome as the ornament of his kingdom, or the fairest pledge of peace and reconciliation. When he had fignified to the ambaffadors of Belifarius, his intention of sparing the city, he stationed an army at the diftance of one hundred and twenty furlongs, to observe the motions of the Roman general. With the remainder of his forces, he marched into Lucania and Apulia, and occupied on the fummit of mount Garganus 14 one of the camps

¹⁴ Mount Garganus, now Monte St. Angelo, in the kingdom of Naples, runs three hundred stadia into the Adriatic sea (Strab. 1. vi. d. 436.), and in the darker ages was illustrated by the apparition, mi-vol. VII.

C H A P. camps of Hannibal 15. The fenators were dragged in his train, and afterwards confined in the fortreffes of Campania: the citizens, with their wives and children, were dispersed in exile; and during forty days Rome was abandoned to defolate and dreary folitude 16.

Recovered by Belifarius, A. D. 547, February.

The loss of Rome was speedily retrieved by an action, to which, according to the event, the public opinion would apply the names of rashness or heroism. After the departure of Totila, the Roman general fallied from the port at the head of a thousand horse, cut in pieces the enemy who opposed his progress, and visited with pity and reverence the vacant space of the eternal city. Refolved to maintain a flation fo conspicuous in the eyes of mankind, he summoned the greatest part of his troops to the flandard which he erected on the Capitol: the old inhabitants were recalled by the love of their country and the hopes of food; and the keys of Rome were fent a fecond time to the Emperor Justinian. The walls, as far as they had been demolished by the Goths, were repaired with rude and diffimilar materials; the

racles, and church of St. Michael the archangel. Horace, a native of Apulia or Lucania, had feen the elms and oaks of Garganus labouring and bellowing with the north wind that blew on that lofty coast (Carm. ii. 9. Epist. ii. i. 201.).

' I cannot afcertain this particular camp of Hannibal; but the Punic quarters were long and often in the neighbourhood of Arpi

(T. Liv xxii. 9. 12. xxiv. 3. &c.).

Totila Roman ingreditur ac evertit muros domos aliquantas igni comburens, ac omnes Romanorum res in prædam accepit, hos ipfos Romanos in Campaniam captivos abduxit. Post quam devastationem, xl aut amplius dies, Roma fuit ita desolata, ut nemo ibi hominum, nisi (nullæ?) bestiæ morarentur (Marcellin. in Chron. p. 54-) ditch was restored; iron spikes 17 were profusely C H A P. fcattered in the highways to annoy the feet of XLIII. the horses; and as new gates could not suddenly be procured, the entrance was guarded by a Spartan rampart of his bravest foldiers. At the expiration of twenty-five days, Totila returned by hafty marches from Apulia, to avenge the injury and difgrace. Belifarius expected his approach. The Goths were thrice repulfed in three general affaults; they loft the flower of their troops; the royal standard had almost fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the fame of Totila funk, as it had rifen, with the fortune of his arms. Whatever skill and courage could achieve, had been performed by the Roman general; it remained only, that Justinian should terminate, by a ftrong and feafonable effort, the war which he had ambitiously undertaken. The indolence, perhaps the impotence, of a prince who despised his enemies, and envied his servants, protracted the calamities of Italy. After a long filence, Belifarius was commanded to leave a fufficient garrison at Rome, and to transport himself into the province of Lucania, whose inhabitants, inflamed by Catholic zeal, had cast away the yoke of their Arian conquerors. In this ignoble warfare, the hero, invincible against the power of the Barbarians, was bafely vanquished by the delay, the disobedience, and the

The tribuli are fmall engines with four fpikes, one fixed in the ground, the three others erect or adverse (Procopius, Gothic. I. iii. c. 24. Just. Lipsius, Poliorcetων, l. v. c. 3.). The metaphor was borrowed from the tribuli (land-caltrops), an herb with a prickly fruit, common in Italy (Martin, ad Virgil. Georgic. i. 153. vol. ii. p. 33.

XLIII.

CHAP. cowardice of his own officers. He reposed in his winter-quarters of Crotona, in the full affurance, that the two passes of the Lucanian hills were guarded by his cavalry. They were betrayed by treachery or weakness; and the rapid march of the Goths fcarcely allowed time for the escape of Belisarius to the coast of Sicily. At length a fleet and army were affembled for the relief of Ruscianum, or Rossano 18, a fortress fixty furlongs from the ruins of Sybaris, where the nobles of Lucania had taken refuge. In the first attempt, the Roman forces were diffipated by a ftorm. In the fecond they approached the fhore; but they faw the hills covered with archers, the landing-place defended by a line of spears, and the King of the Goths impatient for battle. The conqueror of Italy retired with a figh, and continued to languish, inglorious and inactive, till Antonina, who had been fent to Constantinople to folicit fuccours, obtained, after the death of the Empress, the permission of his return.

Final recal of Belifarius, September.

The five last campaigns of Belisarius might abate the envy of his competitors, whose eyes A. D. 548, had been dazzled and wounded by the blaze of his former glory. Inftead of delivering Italy from the Goths, he had wandered like a fugitive along the coast, without daring to march into the country, or to accept the bold and repeated challenge of Totila. Yet in the judgment of the few who could discriminate

counfels

¹⁸ Rufcia, the navale Thuriorum, was transferred to the diffance of fixty stadia to Ruscianum, Rossano, an archbishopric without suffragans. The republic of Sybaris is now the estate of the Duke of Corigliano (Riedefel, Travels into Magna Græcia and Sicily, p. 166-171.).

counsels from events, and compare the instru- CHAP. ments with the execution, he appeared a more confummate mafter of the art of war, than in the feafon of his prosperity, when he presented two captive kings before the throne of Justinian. The valour of Belifarius was not chilled by age; his prudence was matured by experience, but the moral virtues of humanity and justice seem to have vielded to the hard necessity of the times. The parlimony or poverty of the Emperor compelled him to deviate from the rule of conduct which had deferved the love and confidence of the Italians. The war was maintained by the oppression of Ravenna, Sicily, and all the faithful subjects of the empire; and the rigorous profecution of Herodian provoked that injured or guilty officer to deliver Spoleto into the hands of the enemy. The avarice of Antonina, which had been sometimes diverted by love, now reigned without a rival in her breaft. Belifarius himself had always understood, that riches, in a corrupt age, are the fupport and ornament of personal merit. And it cannot be presumed that he should stain his honour for the public fervice, without applying a part of the spoil to his private emolument. The hero had escaped the fword of the Barbarians, but the dagger of conspiracy 19 awaited his return. In the midst of wealth and honours, Artaban, who had chaftifed the African tyrant, complained of the ingratitude of courts. He aspired to Præjecta, the

¹⁹ This conspiracy is related by Procopius (Gothic. 1. iii. c. 31, 32.) with such freedom and candour, that the liberty of the Anecdotes gives him nothing to add.

CHAP. Emperor's niece, who wished to reward her deli-XLIII. verer; but the impediment of his previous marriage was afferted by the piety of Theodora. The pride of royal descent was irritated by flattery; and the service in which he glorified, had proved him capable of bold and fanguinary deeds. The death of Justinian was resolved, but the conspirators delayed the execution till they could furprife Belifarius difarmed, and naked, in the palace of Constantinople. Not a hope could be entertained of shaking his longtried fidelity; and they juftly dreaded the revenge, or rather justice, of the veteran general, who might speedily affemble an army in Thrace to punish the assassins, and perhaps to enjoy the fruits of their crime. Delay afforded time for rash communications and honest confessions: Artaban and his accomplices were condemned by the fenate, but the extreme clemency of Justinian detained them in the gentle confinement of the palace, till he pardoned their flagitious attempt against his throne and life. If the Emperor forgave his enemies, he must cordially embrace a friend whose victories were alone remembered, and who was endeared to his prince by the recent circumstance of their common danger. Belifarius reposed from his toils, in the high station of general of the East and count of the domestics; and the older confuls and patricians respectfully yielded the precedency of rank to the peerless merit of the first of the Romans 20. The

> The honours of Belifarius are gladly commemorated by his fecretary (Procop. Goth. l. iii c. 35. l. iv. c. 21.). The title of Στρατηγος is 2 101130

The first of the Romans still submitted to be the CHAP. flave of his wife; but the fervitude of habit and. affection became less disgraceful when the death of Theodora had removed the baser influence of Joannina their daughter, and the fole fear. heiress of their fortunes, was betrothed to Anastafius the grandfon, or rather the nephew, of the Empress 21, whose kind interposition forwarded the confummation of their youthful loves. But the power of Theodora expired, the parents of Joannina returned, and her honour, perhaps her happiness, were facrificed to the revenge of an unfeeling mother, who diffolved the imperfect nuptials before they had been ratified by the ceremonies of the church 22.

Before the departure of Belifarius, Perufia was Rome befieged, and few cities were impregnable to the again taken by Gothic arms. Ravenna, Ancona, and Crotona, the Goths, ftill refifted the Barbarians; and when Totila A.D. 549. asked in marriage one of the daughters of France.

ill translated, at least in this instance, by præfectus prætorio; and to a military character, magister militum is more proper and applicable (Ducange, Gloss. Græc. p. 1458, 1459.).

21 Alemannus (ad Hift. Arcanam, p. 68.), Ducange (Familiæ Byzant. p. 98.) and Heinneccius (Hift. Juris Civilis, p. 434.) all three represent Anastasius as the son of the daughter of Theodora; and their opinion firmly reposes on the unambiguous testimony of Procopius (Anecdot. c. 4, 5. — θυγατριδω twice repeated). And yet I will remark, r. That in the year 547, Theodora could scarcely have a grandson of the age of puberty; 2. That we are totally ignorant of this daughter and her hulband; and, 3. That Theodora concealed her baftards, and that her grandson by Justinian would have been heir-apparent of the empire.

²² The αμαρτηματα, or fins, of the hero in Italy and after his return, are manifested απαρακαλυπτως, and most probably swelled, by the author of the Anecdotes (c. 4, 5.). The designs of Antonina were favoured by the fluctuating jurifprudence of Justinian. On the law of marriage and divorce, that Emperor was trocho versatilior (Heineccius.

Element. Juris Civil. ad Ordinem Pandect. P. iv. No. 233.).

CHAP. he was flung by the just reproach that the King of Italy was unworthy of his title till it was acknowledged by the Roman people. Three thousand of the bravest foldiers had been left to defend the capital. On the fuspicion of a monopoly. they maffacred the governor, and announced to Justinian, by a deputation of the clergy, that unless their offence was pardoned and their arrears were fatisfied, they should instantly accept the tempting offers of Totila. But the officer who fucceeded to the command (his name was Diogenes) deserved their esteem and confidence: and the Goths, instead of finding an easy conquest, encountered a vigorous resistance from the foldiers and people, who patiently endured the loss of the port, and of all maritime supplies. The flege of Rome would perhaps have been raised, if the liberality of Totila to the Isaurians had not encouraged some of their venal countrymen to copy the example of treason. In a dark night, while the Gothic trumpets founded on another fide, they filently opened the gate of St. Paul: the Barbarians rushed into the city; and the flying garrison was intercepted before they could reach the harbour of Centumcellæ. A foldier trained in the school of Belisarius, Paul of Cilicia, retired with four hundred men to the mole of Hadrian. They repelled the Goths; but they felt the approach of famine; and their aversion to the taste of horse-slesh confirmed their resolution to risk the event of a desperate and decifive fally. But their spirit insensibly stooped to the offers of capitulation: they re-16 trieved

trieved their arrears of pay, and preserved their CHAP. arms and horses, by enlisting in the service of . **IIII. Totila; their chiefs, who pleaded a laudable attachment to their wives and children in the East, were dismissed with honour; and above four hundred enemies, who had taken refuge in the fanctuaries, were faved by the clemency of the victor. He no longer entertained a wish of destroying the edifices of Rome 23, which he now respected as the seat of the Gothic kingdom: the fenate and people were reftored to their country; the means of subfishence were liberally provided; and Totila, in the robe of peace, exhibited the equestrian games of the circus. Whilst he amused the eyes of the multitude, four hundred veffels were prepared for the embarkation of his troops. The cities of Rhegium and Tarentum were reduced: he paffed into Sicily, the object of his implacable refentment; and the island was stripped of its gold and filver, of the fruits of the earth, and of an infinite number of horses, sheep, and oxen. Sardinia and Corfica obeyed the fortune of Italy; and the fea coast of Greece was visited by a fleet of three hundred gallies 24. The Goths were

landed

²³ The Romans were still attached to the monuments of their ancestors; and according to Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 22), the galley of Eneas, of a single rank of oars, 25 feet in breath, 120 in length, was preserved entire in the navalia, near Monte Testaceo, at the foot of the Aventine (Nardini, Roma Antica, l. vii. c. 9. p. 466. Donatus, Roma Antiqua, l. iv. c. 13. p. 334). But all antiquity is ignorant of this relic.

²⁴ In these seas, Procopius searched without success for the isle of Calypso. He was shewn, at Phæacia or Corcyra, the petrified ship of Ulysses (Odys. xiii. 163); but he found it a recent fabric of many stones, dedicated by a merchant to Jupiter Cassius (l. iv. c. 22). Eustathius had supposed it to be the fanciful likeness of a rock.

CHAP. landed in Corcyra and the ancient continent of Epirus; they advanced as far as Nicopolis, the trophy of Augustus, and Dodona 25, once famous by the oracle of Jove. In every step of his victories, the wife Barbarian repeated to Justinian his defire of peace, applauded the concord of their predecessors, and offered to employ the Gothic arms in the fervice of the empire.

Preparations of Justinian for the Gothic war, A. D. 549-55I-

Justinian was deaf to the voice of peace; but he neglected the profecution of war; and the indolence of his temper disappointed, in some degree, the obstinacy of his passions. From this falutary flumber the Emperor was awakened by the Pope Vigilius and the patrician Cethegus. who appeared before his throne, and adjured him, in the name of God and the people, to refume the conquest and deliverance of Italy. In the choice of the generals, caprice, as well as judgment, was shewn. A fleet and army failed for the relief of Sicily under the conduct of Liberius; but his youth and want of experience were afterwards discovered, and before he touched the shores of the island he was overtaken by his fuccessor. In the place of Liberius the conspirator Artaban was raised from a prison to military honours; in the pious prefumption, that gratitude would animate his valour and fortify his allegiance. Belifarius reposed in the shade of his laurels, but the command of the principal

²⁵ M. D'Anville (Memoires de l'Acad. tom. xxxii. p. 513-528.) illustrates the gulph of Ambracia; but he cannot ascertain the situation of Dodona. A country in fight of Italy is less known than the wilds of America.

army was referved for Germanus 26, the Empe- CHAP. ror's nephew, whose rank and merit had been XLIII. long depressed by the jealoufy of the court. Theodora had injured him in the rights of a private citizen, the marriage of his children, and the testament of his brother; and although his conduct was pure and blameless, Justinian was displeased that he should be thought worthy of the confidence of the male contents. The life of Germanus was a lesson of implicit obedience; he nobly refused to profittute his name and character in the factions of the circus: the gravity of his manners was tempered by innocent cheerfulness; and his riches were lent without interest to indigent or deferving friends. His valour had formerly triumphed over the Sclavonians of the Danube and the rebels of Africa; the first report of his promotion revived the hopes of the Italians: and he was privately affured, that a crowd of Roman deferters would abandon, on his approach, the standard of Totila. His second marriage with Malafontha, the grand-daughter of Theodoric, endeared Germanus to the Goths themselves; and they marched with reluctance against the father of a royal infant, the last offfpring of the line of Amali²⁷. A splendid allow-

²⁶ See the acts of Germanus in the public (Vandal. l. ii. c. 16, 17, 18. Goth. l. iii. c. 31, 32.) and private history (Anecdot. c. 5.), and those of his son Justin, in Agathias (l. iv. p. 130, 131.). Notwithstanding an ambiguous expression of Jornandes, fratri suo, Alemannus has proved that he was the son of the Emperor's brother.

²⁷ Conjuncta Aniciorum gens cum Amalâ stirpe spem adhuc utriusque generis promittit (Jornandes, c. 60. p 703.). He wrote at Rayenna before the death of Totila.

CHAP. ance was affigned by the Emperof: the general contributed his private fortune; his two fons were popular and active; and he furpaffed, in the promptitude and fuccess of his levies, the expectation of mankind. He was permitted to felect some squadrons of Thracian cavalry: the veterans, as well as the youth of Constantinople and Europe, engaged their voluntary fervice; and as far as the heart of Germany, his fame and liberality attracted the aid of the Barbarians. The Romans advanced to Sardica; an army of Sclavonians fled before their march; but within two days of their final departure, the defigns of Germanus were terminated by his malady and death. Yet the impulse which he had given to the Italian war still continued to act with energy and effect. The maritime towns, Ancona, Crotona, Centumcellæ, refifted the affaults of Totila. Sicily was reduced by the zeal of Artaban, and the Gothic navy was defeated near the coast of the Hadriatic. The two fleets were almost equal, forty-seven to fifty gallies: the victory was decided by the knowledge and dexterity of the Greeks; but the ships were fo closely grappled, that only twelve of the Goths escaped from this unfortunate conflict. They affected to depreciate an element in which they were unskilled, but their own experience confirmed the truth of a maxim, that the mafter of the fea will always acquire the dominion of the land 25.

²⁸ The third book of Procopius is terminated by the death of Germanus (Add. l. iv. c. 23, 24, 25, 26).

After the loss of Germanus, the nations were CHAP. provoked to finile, by the strange intelligence, that the command of the Roman armies was Character given to an eunuch. But the eunuch Narfes 29 is and experanked among the few who have refcued that un- dition of the euhappy name from the contempt and hatred of nuch mankind. A feeble diminutive body concealed Narfes, A.D. 5522. the foul of a statesman and a warrior. His youth had been employed in the management of the loom and distaff, in the cares of the household, and the fervice of female luxury; but while his hands were bufy, he fecretly exercised the faculties of a vigorous and discerning mind. A ftranger to the schools and the camp, he studied in the palace to dissemble, to flatter, and perfuade; and as foon as he approached the person of the Emperor, Justinian listened with surprise and pleasure to the manly counsels of his chamberlain and private treasurer 30. The talents of Narses were tried and improved in frequent embassies; he led an army into Italy, acquired a practical knowledge of the war and the country, and prefumed to strive with the genius of Beli-

29 Procopius relates the whole feries of this fecond Gothic war and the victory of Narses (l.iv. c. 21, 26—35). A splendid scene! Among the six subjects of epic poetry which Tasso revolved in his mind, he hesitated between the conquests of Italy by Belisarius and by Narses

(Hayley's Works, vol. iv. p. 70.).

⁷⁰ The country of Narfes is unknown, fince he must not be confounded with the Persarmenian. Procopius styles him (Goth. I. ii. c. 13. Εασιλικών χρηματων ταμιας; Paul Warnefrid (l. ii. c. 3. p. 776.), Chartularius: Marcellinus adds the name of Cubicularius. In an incription on the Salarian bridge he is entitled Ex-conful, Ex præpositus, Cubiculi Patricius (Mascou, Hist. of the Germans, I. xiii. c. 25.). The Jaw of Theodosius against eunuchs was obsolete or abolished (Annotation xx.), but the foolish prophecy of the Romans subsisted in full vigour (Procop. l. iv. c. 21.).

farius.

XLIII.

CHAP. farius. Twelve years after his return, the eunuch was chosen to achieve the conquest which had been left imperfect by the first of the Roman generals. Inflead of being dazzled by vanity or emulation, he feriously declared, that unless he were armed with an adequate force, he would never confent to risk his own glory, and that of his fovereign. Justinian granted to the favourite. what he might have denied to the hero: the Gothic war was rekindled from its ashes, and the preparations were not unworthy of the ancient majesty of the empire. The key of the public treasure was put into his hand, to collect magazines, to levy foldiers, to purchase arms and horses, to discharge the arrears of pay, and to tempt the fidelity of the fugitives and deferters. The troops of Germanus were still in arms; they halted at Salona in the expectation of a new leader; and legions of fubjects and allies were created by the well-known liberality of the eunuch Narses. The King of the Lombards 31 fatisfied or furpaffed the obligations of a treaty, by lending two thousand two hundred of his bravest warriors, who were followed by three thousand Three thousand of their martial attendants. Heruli fought on horseback under Philemuth. their native chief; and the noble Aratus, who adopted the manners and discipline of Rome. conducted a band of veterans of the fame nation.

³¹ Paul Warnefrid, the Lombard, records with complacency the fuccour, fervice and honourable difmiffion of his countrymen-reipublicæ Romanæ adversus æmulos adjutores fuerant (l. ii. c. r. p. 774. edit. Grot.). I am furprised that Alboin, their martial king, did not lead his fubjects in person.

Dagistheus was released from prison to command CHAP. the Huns; and Kobad, the grandfon and nephew of the Great King, was conspicuous by the regal tiara at the head of his faithful Persians, who had devoted themselves to the fortunes of their prince 32. Absolute in the exercise of his authority, more absolute in the affection of his troops, Narfes led a numerous and gallant army from Philippolis to Salona, from whence he coasted the eastern side of the Hadriatic as far as the confines of Italy. His progress was checked. The East could not supply vessels capable of transporting such multitudes of men and horses. The Franks, who, in the general confusion, had usurped the greater part of the Venetian province, refused a free passage to the friends of the Lombards. The station of Verona was occupied by Teias, with the flower of the Gothic forces: and that skilful commander had overspread the adjacent country with the fall of woods and the inundation of waters 33. In this perplexity, an officer of experience proposed a measure, secure by the appearance of rashness; that the Roman army should cautiously advance along the seashore, while the fleet preceded their march, and

³² He was, if not an impostor, the son of the blind Zames, saved by compassion, and educated in the Byzantine court by the various motives of policy, pride, and generosity (Procop. Persic. 1. i. c. 23.).

fucceffively

³³ In the time of Augustus, and in the middle ages, the whole waste from Aquileia to Ravenna was covered with woods, lakes, and morasses. Man has subdued nature, and the land has been cultivated, since the waters are confined and embanked. See the learned researches of Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. i. dissert. xxi. p. 253, 254.), from Vitruvius, Strabo, Herodian, old charters, and local knowledge.

CHAP. successively cast a bridge of boats over the mouths of the rivers, the Timavus, the Brenta, the Adige, and the Po, that fall into the Hadriatic to the north of Ravenna. Nine days he reposed in the city, collected the fragments of the Italian army, and marched towards Rimini to meet the defiance of an infulting enemy.

Defeat and death of Totila, A. D. 552, July.

The prudence of Narses impelled him to speedy and decifive action. His powers were the laft effort of the state: the cost of each day accumulated the enormous account; and the nations untrained to discipline or fatigue, might be rashly provoked to turn their arms against each other, or against their benefactor. The same considerations might have tempered the ardour of Totila. But he was conscious, that the clergy and people of Italy aspired to a second revolution: he felt or suspected the rapid progress of treason: and he resolved to risk the Gothic kingdom on the chance of a day, in which the valiant would be animated by inftant danger, and the difaffected might be awed by mutual ignorance. In his march from Ravenna, the Roman general chastised the garrison of Rimini, traverfed in a direct line the hills of Urbino, and reentered the Flaminian way, nine miles beyond the perforated rock, an obstacle of art and nature which might have stopped or retarded his progress 34. The Goths were assembled in the neighbourhood

³⁴ The Plaminian way, as it is corrected from the Itineraries, and the best modern maps, by D'Anville (Analyse de l'Italie, p. 147-162), may be thus stated: ROME to Narni, 51 Roman miles: Terni, 57; Spoleto, 75; Foligno, 88; Nocera, 103; Cagli, 142; Intercifa,

bourhood of Rome, they advanced without delay CHAP. to feek a superior enemy, and the two armies approached each other at the diffance of one hundred furlongs, between Tagina 35 and the fepulchres of the Gauls 36. The haughty message of Naries was an offer, not of peace, but of pardon. The answer of the Gothic King declared his refolution, to die or conquer. "What day," faid the messenger, " will you fix for the combat?" " The eighth day," replied Totila: but early the next morning he attempted to furprife a foe, fuspicious of deceit, and prepared for battle. Ten thousand Heruli and Lombards, of approved valour and doubtful faith, were placed in the centre. Each of the wings was composed of eight thousand Romans; the right was guarded by the cavalry of the Huns, the left was covered by fifteen hundred chosen horse, destined, according to the emergencies of action, to fuftain the retreat of their friends, or to encompass the

157; Fossombrone, 160; Fano, 176; Pesaro, 184; RIMINI, 208,—about 189 English miles. He takes no notice of the death of Totila; but Wesseling (Itinerar. p. 614.) exchanges for the field of *Taginas* the unknown appellation of *Planias* eight miles from Nocera.

37 Taginæ, or rather Tadinæ, is mentioned by Pliny; but the bishopric of that obscure town, a mile from Gualdo, in the plain, was
united, in the year 1007, with that of Nocera. The signs of antiquity
are preserved in the local appellations, Fossato, the camp; Capraia,
Caprae; Bassia, Busia Gallorum. See Cluverius (Italia Antiqua, I. ii.
c. 6. p. 615, 616, 617.), Lucas Holstenius (Annotat. ad Cluver. p. 85,
86.), Guazzesi (Dissertat. p. 177—217. a professed inquiry), and the
maps of the ecclesiastical state and the march of Ancona, by Le Maire
and Magini.

³⁶ The battle was fought in the year of Rome 4,58; and the Conful Decius, by devoting his own life, affured the triumph of his country and his colleague Fabius (T. Liv. x. 28, 29.). Procopius afcribes to Camillus the victory of the Bufta Gallorum; and his error is branded by Cluverius with the national reproach of Græcorum nugamenta.

EHAP. flank of the enemy. From his proper flation at the head of the right wing, the eunuch rode along the line, expressing by his voice and countenance the affurance of victory; exciting the foldiers of the Emperor to punish the guilt and madness of a band of robbers; and exposing to their view gold chains, collars, and bracelets, the rewards of military virtue. From the event of a fingle combat, they drew an omen of fuccess; and they beheld with pleasure the courage of fifty archers, who maintained a fmall eminence against three successive attacks of the Gothic cavalry. At the distance only of two bow-shots, the armies spent the morning in dreadful sufpence, and the Romans tafted fome necessary food, without unloofening the cuirafs from their breaft, or the bridle from their horses. Narfes awaited the charge; and it was delayed by Totila till he had received his last succours of two thousand Goths. While he consumed the hours in fruitless treaty, the King exhibited in a narrow space the strength and agility of a warrior. His armour was enchafed with gold; his purple banner floated with the wind: he cast his lance into the air; caught it with the right hand; shifted it to the left; threw himself backwards; recovered his feat; and managed a fiery fleed in all the paces and evolutions of the equestrian school. As soon as the succours had arrived, he retired to his tent, assumed the dress and arms of a private foldier, and gave the fignal of battle. The first line of cavalry advanced with more courage than difcretion, and left behind them the infantry of the fecond line. They were foon engaged

engaged between the horns of a crescent, into CHAP. which the adverse wings had been infensibly XLIII. curved, and were faluted from either fide by the vollies of four thousand archers. Their ardour. and even their diffress, drove them forwards to a close and unequal conflict, in which they could only use their lances against an enemy equally skilled in all the inftruments of war. A generous emulation inspired the Romans and their Barbarian allies: and Narses, who calmly viewed and directed their efforts, doubted to whom he should adjudge the prize of fuperior bravery. Gothic cavalry was aftonished and disordered, pressed and broken; and the line of infantry, instead of presenting their spears, or opening their intervals, were trampled under the feet of the flying horse. Six thousand of the Goths were flaughtered without mercy in the field of Tagina. Their prince, with five attendants, was overtaken by Asbad, of the race of the Gepidæ; "Spare the King of Italy," cried a loyal voice, and Asbad ftruck his lance through the body of Totila. The blow was inftantly revenged by the faithful Goths: they transported their dying monarch feven miles beyond the scene of his disgrace; and his last moments were not embittered by the presence of an enemy. Compassion afforded him the shelter of an obscure tomb: but the Romans were not fatisfied of their victory, till they beheld the corpfe of the Gothic King. His hat, enriched with gems, and his bloody robe, were presented to Justinian by the messengers of triumph 37.

³⁷ Theophanes, Chron. p. 193. Hift. Miscell. l. xvi. p. 108.

C H A P.
XLIII.

Conqueft
of Rome
by Narfes.

As foon as Narfes had paid his devotions to the Author of victory, and the bleffed Virgin, his peculiar patroness 38, he praised, rewarded, and difmiffed the Lombards. The villages had been reduced to ashes by these valiant savages; they ravished matrons and virgins on the altar; their retreat was diligently watched by a ftrong detachment of regular forces, who prevented a repetition of the like diforders. The victorious eunuch purfued his march through Tufcany, accepted the submission of the Goths, heard the acclamations, and often the complaints, of the Italians, and encompassed the walls of Rome with the remainder of his formidable hoft. Round the wide circumference. Narfes affigned to himfelf, and to each of his lieutenants, a real or a feigned attack. while he filently marked the place of eafy and unguarded entrance. Neither the fortifications of Hadrian's mole, nor of the port, could long delay the progress of the conqueror; and Justinian once more received the keys of Rome. which under his reign, had been five times taken and recovered 39. But the deliverance of Rome was the last calamity of the Roman people. The Barbarian allies of Narfes too frequently confounded the privileges of peace and war: the despair of the flying Goths found some con-

³⁸ Evagrius, l.iv. c. 24. The infpiration of the Virgin revealed to Narfes the day, and the word, of battle (Paul Diacon. l.ii. c. 3. p. 776.).

³⁹ Eπ. τενε βασιλευοντο; το πεμπτεν έαλω. In the year 536 by Belifarius, in 546 by Totila, in 547 by Belifarius, in 549 by Totila, and in 552 by Narsis. Maltretus had inadvertently translated fextum; a mistake which he afterwards retracts: but the mischief was done; and Coufin, with a train of French and Latin readers, have fallen into the snare.

folation in fanguinary revenge: and three hun- CHAP. dred youths of the noblest families, who had, been fent as hoftages beyond the Po, were inhumanly flain by the fucceffer of Totila. The fate of the fenate fuggests an awful lesson of the viciffitude of human affairs. Of the fenators whom Totila had banished from their country, some were refcued by an officer of Belifarius, and transported from Campania to Sicily; while others were too guilty to confide in the clemency of Justinian, or too poor to provide horses for their escape to the sea-shore. Their brethren languished five years in a state of indigence and exile: the victory of Narfes revived their hopes; but their premature return to the metropolis was prevented by the furious Goths; and all the fortreffes of Campania were stained with patrician 40 blood. After a period of thirteen centuries, the inftitution of Romulus expired; and if the nobles of Rome still assumed the title of fenators, few subsequent traces can be discovered of a public council, or conftitutional order. Ascend six hundred years, and contemplate the kings of the earth foliciting an audience, as the flaves or freedmen of the Roman fenate 41!

The Gothic war was yet alive. The bravest Defeat and of the nation retired beyond the Po; and Teias death of was unanimously chosen to succeed and revenge last King of

the Goths.

⁴⁰ Compare two passages of Procopius (l. iii. c. 26. l. iv. c. 24.), which, with fome collateral hints from Marcellinus and Jornandes, illustrate the state of the expiring senate.

⁴¹ See, in the example of Prusias, as it is delivered in the fragments of Polybius (Excerpt. Legat. xcvii. p. 927, 928.), a curious picture of a royal flave.

March.

CHAP. their departed hero. The new King immediately fent ambaffadors to implore, or rather to purchafe, A.D. 553, the aid of the Franks, and nobly lavished, for the public fafety, the riches which had been deposited in the palace of Pavia. The refidue of the royal treasure was guarded by his brother Aligern at Cumæ in Campania; but the strong castle which Totila had fortified was closely befieged by the arms of Narfes. From the Alps to the foot of Mount Vesuvius, the Gothic King, by rapid and fecret marches, advanced to the relief of his brother, eluded the vigilance of the Roman chiefs, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Sarnus or Draco 42, which flows from Nuceria into the bay of Naples. The river separated the two armies; fixty days were confumed in distant and fruitless combats, and Teias maintained this important post, till he was deserted by his fleet and the hope of subsistence. With reluctant steps he ascended the Lactarian mount, where the physicians of Rome, fince the time of Galen, had fent their patients for the benefit of the air and the milk 43. But the Goths foon embraced a more generous refolution: to descend ' the hill, to difmiss their horses, and to die in

> 42 The Δρακων of Procopius (Goth. l. iv. c. 35.) is evidently the Sarnus. The text is accused or altered by the rash violence of Cluverius (l.iv. c. 3. p. 1156.): but Camillo Pellegrini of Naples (Discorsi sopra la Campania Felice, p. 330, 331.) has proved from old records, that as early as the year 822 that river was called the Dracontio, or Draconcello.

⁴³ Galen (de Method. Medendi. l. v. apud Cluver. l. iv. c. 3. p. 1150. 1160.) describes the lofty site, pure air, and rich milk of Mount Lactarius, whose medicinal benefits were equally known and fought in the time of Symmachus (l. vi. epist. 18.), and Cassiodorius (Var. xi. 10.). Nothing is now left except the name of the town of Lettere.

arms, and in the possession of freedom. The CHAP. King marched at their head, bearing in his right. XLIII. hand a lance, and an ample buckler in his left: with the one he struck dead the foremost of the affailants; with the other he received the weapons which every hand was ambitious to aim against his life. After a combat of many hours, his left arm was fatigued by the weight of twelve javelins which hung from his shield. Without moving from his ground, or fuspending his blows, the hero called aloud on his attendants for a fresh buckler, but in the moment, while his fide was uncovered, it was pierced by a mortal dart. He fell: and his head, exalted on a spear, proclaimed to the nations, that the Gothic kingdom was no more. But the example of his death ferved only to animate the companions who had fworn to perish with their leader. They fought till darkness descended on the earth. They reposed on The combat was renewed with the their arms. return of light, and maintained with unabated vigour till the evening of the fecond day. The repose of a second night, the want of water, and the loss of their bravest champions, determined the furviving Goths to accept the fair capitulation which the prudence of Naries was inclined to propose. They embraced the alternative of refiding in Italy, as the subjects and soldiers of Justinian, or departing with a portion of their private wealth, in fearch of some independent country 44. Yet the oath of fidelity or exile was

CCA

^{**} Buat (tom. xi. p. 2, &c.) conveys to his favourite Bavaria this remnant of Goths, who by others are buried in the mountains of Uri, or restored to their native isle of Gothland (Maseou, Annot xxi-). alike

XLIII.

CH A.P. alike rejected by one thousand Goths, who broke away before the treaty was figned, and boldly effected their retreat to the walls of Pavia. The spirit, as well as the fituation of Aligern, prompted him to imitate rather than to bewail his brother: a ftrong and dextrous archer, he transpierced with a fingle arrow the armour and breaft of his antagonist; and his military conduct defended Cumæ 45 above a year against the forces of the Romans. Their industry had scooped the Sibyll's cave 46 into a prodigious mine; combustible materials were introduced to confume the temporary props: the wall and the gate of Cumæ funk into the cavern, but the ruins formed a deep and inaccessible precipice. On the fragment of a rock; Aligern flood alone and unshaken, till he calmly furveyed the hopeless condition of his country, and judged it more honourable to be the friend of Narfes than the flave of the Franks. After the death of Teias, the Roman general separated his troops to reduce the cities of Italy; Lucca sustained a long and vigorous fiege: and fuch was the humanity or the prudence of Narses, that the repeated perfidy of the inhabitants could not provoke

¹ leave Scaliger (Animadverf. in Eufeb. p. 59.) and Salmafius Exercitat. Plinian. p. 51, 52. to quarrel about the origin of Cumze, the oldest of the Greek colonies in Italy (Strab. 1.v. p. 372. Velleius Paterculus, l. i. c. 4.), already vacant in Juvenal's time (Satir. iii.), and now in ruins.

⁴⁶ Agathias (l. i. c. 21.) fettles the Sibyll's cave under the walls of Cumæ; he agrees with Servius (ad. l. vi. Æneid.); nor can I perceive why their opinion should be rejected by Heyne, the excellent editor of Virgil (tom. ii. p. 650, 651.). In urbe mediâ fecreta religio! But Cumæ was not yet built; and the lines (1. vi. 96, 97.) would become ridiculous, if Æneas were actually in a Greek city.

him to exact the forfeit lives of their hoftages. CHAP. These hostages were dismissed in safety; and XLIII. their grateful zeal at length subdued the obstinacy of their countrymen 47.

Before Lucca had furrendered, Italy was over- Invation whelmed by a new deluge of Barbarians. A of taly by the Franks feeble youth, the grandson of Clovis, reigned and Aleover the Austrasians or oriental Franks. The Manni, A.D. 553. guardians of Theodebald entertained with cold- August. ness and reluctance the magnificent promises of the Gothic ambassadors. But the spirit of a martial people outstripped the timid counsels of the court: two brothers, Lothaire and Buccelin 48, the dukes of the Alemanni, stood forth as the leaders of the Italian war; and feventy-five thoufand Germans descended in the autumn from the Rhætian alps into the plain of Milan. vanguard of the Roman army was stationed near the Po, under the conduct of Fulcaris, a bold Herulian, who rashly conceived that personal bravery was the fole duty and merit of a commander. As he marched without order or precaution along the Æmilian way, an ambufcade of Franks fuddenly rose from the amphitheatre of Parma: his troops were furprifed and routed; but their leader refused to fly, declaring, to the last moment, that death was less terrible than the

⁴⁷ There is some difficulty in connecting the 35th chapter of the fourth book of the Gothic war of Procopius with the first book of the history of Agathias. We must now relinquish a statesman and soldier, to attend the footsteps of a poet and rhetorician (l. i. p. 11. l. ii. p. 51. edit. Louvre).

⁴⁸ Among the fabulous exploits of Buccelin, he discomfitted and flew Belifarius, fubdued Italy and Sicily, &c. See in the Historians of France, Gregory of Tours (tom. ii. I. iii. c. 32. p. 203.), and Aimoin (tom. iii. l. ii. de Gestis Francorum, c. 23. p. 59.).

CHAP, angry countenance of Narfes. The death of Fulcaris, and the retreat of the furviving chiefs, decided the fluctuating and rebellious temper of the Goths; they flew to the standard of their deliverers, and admitted them into the cities which still resisted the arms of the Roman general. The conqueror of Italy opened a free passage to the irrefiftible torrent of Barbarians. passed under the walls of Cesena, and answered by threats and reproaches the advice of Aligern, that the Gothic treasures could no longer repay the labour of an invasion. Two thousand Franks were destroyed by the skill and valour of Narses himfelf, who fallied from Rimini at the head of three hundred horse, to chastise the licentious rapine of their march. On the confines of Samnium, the two brothers divided their forces. With the right wing, Buccelin assumed the spoil of Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium: with the left, Lothaire accepted the plunder of Apulia and Calabria. They followed the coast of the Mediterranean and the Hadriatic, as far as Rhegium and Otranto, and the extreme lands of Italy were the term of their destructive progress. The Franks, who were Christians and Catholics, contented themselves with simple pillage and occasional murder. But the churches which their piety had spared, were stripped by the sacrilegious hands of the Alemanni, who facrificed horses' heads to their native deities of the woods and rivers 49: they melted or prefaned the confecrated

⁴⁹ Agathias notices their fuperflition in a philosophic tone (l.i. p. 18.). At Zug, in Switzerland, idolatry still prevailed in the year 613: St.

fecrated veffels, and the ruins of shrines and CHAP. altars were stained with the blood of the faithful. Buccelin was actuated by ambition, and Lothaire The former aspired to restore the by avarice. Gothic kingdom: the latter, after a promife to his brother of fpeedy fuccours, returned by the fame road to deposit his treasure beyond the Alps. The strength of their armies was already wasted by the change of climate and contagion of disease: the Germans revelled in the vintage of Italy; and their own intemperance avenged, in some degree, the miferies of a defenceless people.

At the entrance of the fpring, the Imperial troops, who had guarded the cities, affembled to Defeat the number of eighteen thousand men, in the of the Franks neighbourhood of Rome. Their winter hours and Ale-By the manni by had not been confumed in idleness. command, and after the example of Narfes, they A.D. 554. repeated each day their military exercise on foot and on horseback, accustomed their ear to obey the found of the trumpet, and practifed the steps and evolutions of the Pyrrhic dance. From the streights of Sicily, Buccelin, with thirty thousand Franks and Alemanni, flowly moved towards Capua, occupied with a wooden tower the bridge of Cafilinum, covered his right by the stream of the Vulturnus, and secured the rest of his encampment by a rampart of sharp stakes, and a circle of waggons, whose wheels were buried in the earth. He impatiently expected the return

Columban and St. Gall were the apostles of that rude country; and the latter founded an hermitage, which has fwelled into an ecclefiaftical principality and a populous city, the feat of freedom and commerce.

CHAP. of Lothaire; ignorant, alas! that his brother could never return, and that the chief and his army had been fwept away by a strange disease 50 on the banks of the lake Benacus, between Trent and Verona. The banners of Narfes foon approached the Vulturnus, and the eyes of Italy were anxiously fixed on the event of this final contest. Perhaps the talents of the Roman general were most conspicuous in the calm operations which precede the tumult of a battle. His skilful movements intercepted the subfishence of the Barbarian, deprived him of the advantage of the bridge and river, and in the choice of the ground and moment of action reduced him to comply with the inclination of his enemy. On the morning of the important day, when the ranks were already formed, a fervant, for fome trivial fault, was killed by his mafter, one of the leaders of the Heruli. The justice or passion of Narses was awakened: he summoned the offender to his presence, and without listening to his excuses, gave the fignal to the minister of death. If the cruel mafter had not infringed the laws of his nation, this arbitrary execution was not less unjust than it appears to have been imprudent. The Heruli felt the indignity; they halted: but the Roman general, without foothing their rage, or expecting their refolution, called aloud, as the trumpets founded, that unless they hastened to occupy their place, they would lose the honour of the victory.

> 50 See the death of Lothaire in Agathias, (l. ii. p. 38.) and Paul Warnefrid, furnamed Diaconus (l. ii. c. 3. 775.). The Greek makes him rave and tear his flesh. He had plundered churches.

His troops were disposed 51 in a long front, the CHAP. cavalry on the wings; in the centre, the heavy armed foot: the archers and flingers in the rear. The Germans advanced in a sharp-pointed column, of the form of a triangle or folid wedge. They pierced the feeble centre of Narses, who received them with a fmile into the fatal frare, and directed his wings of cavalry infenfibly to wheel on their flanks and encompass their rear. The hoft of the Franks and Alemanni confifted of infantry: a fword and buckler hung by their fide; and they used as their weapons of offence, a weighty hatchet, and a hooked javelin, which were only formidable in close combat, or at a fhort diffance. The flower of the Roman archers, on horseback, and in complete armour, skirmished without peril round this immoveable phalanx; fupplied by active fpeed the deficiency of number; and aimed their arrows against a crowd of Barbarians, who, instead of a cuirass and helmet, were covered by a loofe garment They paused, they trembled, of fur or linen. their ranks were confounded, and in the decifive moment the Heruli, preferring glory to revenge, charged with rapid violence the head of the column. Their leader, Sindbal, and Aligern, the Gothic prince, deferved the prize of superior valour; and their example incited the victorious troops to atchieve with fwords and fpears the

⁵¹ Père Daniel (Hist. de la Milice Françoise, tom. i. p. 17—21.) has exhibited a fanciful representation of this battle, somewhat in the manner of the Chevalier Folard, the once famous editor of Polybius, who fashioned to his own habits and opinions all the military operations of antiquity.

destruc-

CHAP. destruction of the enemy. Buccelin, and the greatest part of his army, perished on the field of battle, in the waters of the Vulturnus, or by the hands of the enraged peafants: but it may feem incredible that a victory 52, which no more than five of the Alemanni furvived, could be purchased with the loss of fourscore Romans. Seven thoufand Goths, the relics of the war, defended the fortress of Campsa till the ensuing spring; and every meffenger of Narfes announced the reduction of the Italian cities, whose names were corrupted by the ignorance or vanity of the Greeks 53. After the battle of Cafilinum, Naries entered the capital; the arms and treasures of the Goths, the Franks and Alemanni, were displayed; his foldiers, with garlands in their hands, chanted the praifes of the conqueror; and Rome, for the last time, beheld the semblance of a triumph.

Settlement of Italy A.D.

After a reign of fixty years, the throne of the Gothic Kings was filled by the Exarchs of Ra-554-568. venna, the representatives in peace and war of the Emperor of the Romans. Their jurisdiction was foon reduced to the limits of a narrow province: but Narses himself, the first and most powerful of the Exarchs, administered above fifteen years the entire kingdom of Italy. Like Belifarius, he had deferved the honours of envy, calumny, and difgrace: but the favourite eunuch

53 The Beroi and Brincas of Theophanes or his transcriber (p. 2011) must be read or understood Verona and Brixia.

ftill

⁵² Agathius (l. ii. p.47.) has produced a Greek epigram of fix lines on this victory of Narfes, which is favourably compared to the battles of Marathonand Platæa. The chief difference is indeed in their confequences -fo trivial in the former instance-fo permanent and glorious in the latter.

ftill enjoyed the confidence of Justinian, or the CHAP. leader of a victorious army awed and repressed the ingratitude of a timid court. Yet it was not by weak and mischievous indulgence that Narses fecured the attachment of his troops. Forgetful of the past, and regardless of the future, they abused the present hour of prosperity and peace. The cities of Italy refounded with the noise of drinking and dancing: the spoils of victory were wafted in fenfual pleafures; and nothing (fays Agathias) remained, unless to exchange their shields and helmets for the soft lute and the capacious hogshead 54. In a manly oration, not unworthy of a Roman cenfor, the eunuch reproved these disorderly vices, which fullied their fame, and endangered their fafety. The foldiers blushed and obeyed: discipline was confirmed; the fortifications were reftored; a duke was stationed for the defence and military command of each of the principal cities 55; and the eye of Narfes pervaded the ample profpect from Calabria to the Alps. The remains of the Gothic nation evacuated the country, or mingled with the people: the Franks, inflead of revenging the death of Buccelin, abandoned, without a struggle, their Italian conquests: and the rebellious Sind-

⁵¹ Ελιπετο γαροιμαι, αυτοις ύπο αδελτεριας τας ασπίδας τυχον και τα κράνη αμθορεως οινε και δαρδιτε αποδοσθαι (Agathias, I. ii. p. 48.). In the first scene of Richard III. our English poet has beautifully enlarged on this idea, for which, however, he was not indebted to the Byzantine historian.

⁵⁵ Maffei has proved (Verona Illustrata, P. i. l. x. p. 257. 289.), against the common opinion, that the dukes of Italy were instituted before the conquest of the Lombards by Narsis himself. In the Pragnatic Sanction (N° 23.), Justinian restrains the judices militares.

CHAP. bal, chief of the Heruli, was fubdued, taken, and hung on a lofty gallows by the inflexible justice of the Exarch 56. The civil state of Italy, after the agitation of a long tempest, was fixed by a pragmatic faction, which the Emperor promulcated at the request of the pope. Justinian introduced his own jurisprudence into the schools and tribunals of the West: he ratified the acts of Theodoric and his immediate fuccesfors, but every deed was rescinded and abolished, which force had extorted, or fear had fubscribed, under the usurpation of Totila. A moderate theory was framed to reconcile the rights of property with the fafety of prescription, the claims of the flate with the poverty of the people, and the pardon of offences with the interest of virtue and order of fociety. Under the Exarchs of Ravenna, Rome was degraded to the fecond rank. Yet the fenators were gratified by the permission of visiting their estates in Italy, and of approaching, without obstacle, the throne of Constantinople; the regulation of weights and meafures was delegated to the pope and fenate; and the falaries of lawyers and physicians, of orators and grammarians, were deftined to preferve, or rekindle, the light of science in the ancient capital. Justinian might dictate benevolent edicts 57, and Narfes might fecond his wishes

57 The Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian, which restores and regulates the civil state of Italy, consists of xxvii articles: it is dated August ar, A. D. 554.; is addressed to Narses, V. J. Præpositus Sacri Cubiculi and

⁵⁶ See Paulus Diaconus I. iii. c. 2. p. 776. Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 133.) mentions fome rifings in Italy by the Franks, and Theophanes (p. 201.) hints at fome Gothic Rebellions.

by the restoration of cities, and more especially of CIH A P. churches. But the power of kings is most effect. tual to deftroy: and the twenty years of the Gothic war had confummated the diffress and depopulation of Italy. As early as the fourth campaign, under the discipline of Belisarius himself, fifty thousand labourers died of hungers in the narrow region of Picenum 50; and a strict interpretation of the evidence of Procopius would fwell the loss of Italy above the total sum of her present inhabitants 60.

I defire to believe, but I dare not affirm, that Invafion Belifarius fincerely rejoiced in the triumph of Bulgarians, Narfes. Yet the consciousness of his own ex- A.D. 559. ploits might teach him to esteem without jealousy the merit of a rival; and the repose of the aged warrior was crowned by a last victory which faved the Emperor and the capital. The Barbarians, who annually visited the provinces of Europe, were less discouraged by some accidental defeats. than they were excited by the double hope of

Antiochus, Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ; and has been preferved by Julian Antecessor, and in the Corpus Juris Civilis, after the novels and edicts of Justinian, Justin, and Tiberius.

58 A still greater number was confumed by famine in the fouthern provinces, without (12705) the Ionian Gulph. Acorns were used in the place of bread. Procopius had feen a deferted orphan fuckled by a shegoat. Seventeen paffengers were lodged, murdered, and eaten by two women, who were detected and flain by the eighteenth, &c.

59 Quinta regio Piceni est; quondam uberrimæ multitudinis, ccclx millia Picentium in fidem P. R. venere (Plin. hift. Natur. iii. 18.). In the time of Vespasian, this ancient population was already diminished.

60 Perhaps fifteen or fixteen millions. Procopius (Anecdot. c. 18.) computes that Africa toft five millions, that Italy was thrice as extenfive, and that the depopulation was in a larger proportion. But his reckening is inflamed by paffion, and clouded with uncertainty.

VOL. VII.

DD

fpoil

CHAP. spoil and of subsidy. In the thirty-second winter of Justinian's reign, the Danube was deeply frozen: Zabergan led the cavalry of the Bulgarians, and his ftandard was followed by a promifcuous multitude of Sclavonians. The favage chief paffed, without opposition, the river and the mountains, fpread his troops over Macedonia and Thrace, and advanced with no more than feven thousand horse to the long walls which should have defended the territory of Constantinople. But the works of man are impotent against the affaults of nature: a recent earthquake had shaken the foundations of the wall; and the forces of the empire were employed on the diftant frontiers of Italy, Africa, and Persia. The feven schools 61, or companies of the guards or domeftic troops, had been augmented to the number of five thousand five hundred men, whose ordinary station was in the peaceful cities of Asia. But the places of the brave Armenians were infenfibly fupplied by lazy citizens, who purchased an exemption from the duties of civil life, without being exposed to the dangers of military fervice. Of fuch foldiers, few could be tempted to fally from the gates; and none could be perfuaded to remain in the field, unless they wanted ftrength and speed to escape from the Bulgarians. The report of the fugitives exaggerated the numbers and fierceness of an enemy, who had polluted holy virgins, and abandoned new-born in-

⁶¹ In the decay of these military schools, the satire of Procopius (Anecdot. c. 24. Aleman. p. 102, 103.) is confirmed and illustrated by Agathius (l. v. p. 159.), who cannot be rejected as an hostile witness.

fants to the dogs and vultures; a crowd of ruftics, CHAP. imploring food and protection, increased the consternation of the city, and the tents of Zabergan were pitched at the diftance of twenty miles 62, on the banks of a fmall river, which encircles Melanthias, and afterwards falls into the Propontis 63. Justinian trembled: and those who had only feen the Emperor in his old age, were pleased to suppose, that he had lost the alacrity and vigour of his youth. By his command, the veffels of gold and filver were removed from the churches in the neighbourhood, and even the fuburbs of Constantinople: the ramparts were lined with trembling spectators: the golden gate was crowded with ufeless generals and tribunes, and the fenate shared the fatigues and the apprehenfions of the populace.

But the eyes of the prince and people were di- Last vicrected to a feeble veteran, who was compelled by belifarius. the public danger to resume the armour in which he had entered Carthage and defended Rome. The horses of the royal stables, of private citizens, and even of the circus, were haftily collected; the emulation of the old and young was

⁶² The diftance from Constantinople to Melanthias, Villa Cæfariana (Ammian. Marcellin. xxx. 11.), is variously fixed at 102 or 140 stadia (Suidas, tom. ii. p. 522, 523. Agathias, l. v. p. 158.), or xviii or xix miles (Itineraria, p. 138. 230. 323. 332. and Wesseling's Observations). The first xii miles, as far as Rhegium, were paved by Justinian, who built a bridge over a morais or gullet between a lake and the fea (Procop. de Edif. l. iv. c. 8.).

⁶³ The Atyras (Pompon. Mela, l. ii. c. 2. p. 169. edit. Voss). At the river's mouth, a town or caftle of the same name was fortified by Justinian (Procop. de Edif. l. iv. c. 2. Itinerar. p. 570. and Weffeling).

XLIII.

CHAP. roused by the name of Belisarius, and his first encampment was in the presence of a victorius enemy. His prudence, and the labour of the friendly peafants, fecured, with a ditch and rampart, the repose of the night; innumerable fires, and clouds of dust, were artfully contrived to magnify the opinion of his strength: his foldiers suddenly passed from despondency to presumption; and while ten thousand voices demanded the battle, Belifarius diffembled his knowledge, that in the hour of trial he must depend on the firmness of three hundred veterans. The next morning the Bulgarian cavalry advanced to the charge. But they heard the fhouts of multitudes, they beheld the arms and discipline of the front; they were affaulted on the flanks by two ambuscades which rose from the woods; their foremost warriors fell by the hand of the aged hero and his guards; and the fwiftness of their evolutions was rendered useless by the close attack and rapid pursuit of the Romans. In this action (so speedy was their flight), the Bulgarians loft only four hundred horfe; but Constantinople was faved; and Zabergan, who felt the hand of a master, withdrew to a respectful distance. But his friends were numerous in the council of the Emperor, and Belifarius obeyed with reluctance the commands of envy and Justinian, which forbade him to atchieve the deliverance of his country. On his return to the city, the people, still conscious of their danger, accompanied his triumph with acclamations of joy and gratitude, which were imputed as a crime to the victorious general. But when he entered

entered the palace, the courtiers were filent, and C H A P. the Emperor, after a cold and thankless embrace, XLIII. dismissed him, to mingle with the train of slaves. Yet so deep was the impression of his glory on the minds of men, that Justinian, in the seventyfeventh year of his age, was encouraged to advance near forty miles from the capital, and to inspect in person the restoration of the long wall. The Bulgarians wasted the summer in the plains of Thrace: but they were inclined to peace by the failure of their rash attempts on Greece and the Cherfonefus. A menace of killing their prisoners quickened the payment of heavy ranfoms; and the departure of Zabergan was haftened by the report, that double-prowed veffels were built on the Danube to intercept his paf-The danger was foon forgotten; and a fage. vain question, whether their sovereign had shewn more wisdom or weakness, amused the idleness of the city 64.

About two years after the last victory of Beli- His diffarius, the Emperor returned from a Thracian grace and journey of health, or business, or devotion. Jus- A.D. 361. tinian was afflicted by a pain in his head; and his private entry countenanced the rumour of his death. Before the third hour of the day, the bakers' shops were plundered of their bread, the houses were shut, and every citizen, with hope or terror, prepared for the impending tumult. The fenators themselves, fearful and suspicious,

⁶⁴ The Bulgarian war, and the last victory of Belisarius, are imperfectly represented in the prolix declaration of Agathias (l. 5. p. 154 -174.) and the dry Chronicle of Theophanes (p. 197, 198.).

CHAP. were convened at the ninth hour; and the præfect received their commands to vifit every quarter of the city, and proclaim a general illumination for the recovery of the Emperor's health. The ferment fubfided; but every accident betrayed the impotence of the government, and the factious temper of the people: the guards were disposed to mutiny as often as their quarters were changed, or their pay was withheld: the frequent calamities of fires and earthquakes afforded the opportunities of diforder; the disputes of the blues and greens, of the orthodox and heretics, degenerated into bloody battles; and in the prefence of the Persian ambassador, Justinian blushed for himself and for his subjects. Capricious pardon and arbitrary punishment embittered the irksomeness and discontent of a long reign: a conspiracy was formed in the palace; and, unless we are deceived by the names of Marcellus and Sergius, the most virtuous and the most profligate of the courtiers were affociated in the same defigns. They had fixed the time of the execution; their rank gave them access to the royal banquet; and their black flaves is were flationed in the veftibule and porticoes, to announce the death of the tyrant, and to excite a fedition in the capital. But the indifcretion of an accomplice faved the poor

⁶⁵ Ivdes. They could fearcely be real Indians; and the Æthiopians, fometimes known by that name, were never used by the ancients as guards or followers: they were the trifling, though coftly, objects of female and royal luxury (Terent. Eunuch. act i. scene ii. Sueton. in August. c. 83. with a good note of Casaubon, in Caligula, C. 57.)

remnant of the days of Justinian. The conspi. CHAP. rators were detected and feized, with daggers hidden under their garments: Marcellus died by his own hand, and Sergius was dragged from the fanctuary 65. Pressed by remorse, or tempted by the hopes of fafety, he accused two officers of the household of Belisarius; and torture forced them to declare that they had acted according to the fecret instructions of their patron 67. Posterity will not haftily believe that an hero who, in the vigour of life, had disdained the fairest offers of ambition and revenge, should stoop to the murder of his prince, whom he could not long expect to furvive. His followers were impatient to fly; but flight must have been supported by rebellion, and he had lived enough for nature and for glory. Beli- A. D. 563. farius appeared before the council with less fear Dec. 5. than indignation: after forty years' fervice, the Emperor had prejudged his guilt; and injuffice was fanctified by the prefence and authority of the Patriarch. The life of Belifarius was graciously spared; but his fortunes were sequestered, and from December to July, he was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace. At length his in- A. D. 564. nocence was acknowledged; his freedom and July 19. honours were reftored; and death, which might be haftened by refentment and grief, removed A.D. 565.

March 13.

⁶⁶ The Sergius (Vandal. l. ii. c. 21, 22. Anecdot. c. 5.) and Marcellus (Goth. l. iii. c. 32.) are mentioned by Procopius. See Theophanes, p. 197. 201.

⁶⁷ Alemannus (p. 3.) quotes an old Byzantine MS. which has been printed in the Imperium Orientale of Banduri.

CHAP. him from the world about eight months after his deliverance. The name of Belifarius can never die: but instead of the funeral, the monuments, the flatues, so justly due to his memory, I only read, that his treasures, the spoils of the Goths and Vandals, were immediately confiscated by the Emperor. Some decent portion was referved, however, for the use of his widow; and as Antonina had much to repent, she devoted the last remains of her life and fortune to the foundation of a convent. Such is the fimple and genuine narrative of the fall of Belifarius and the ingratitude of Justinian 68. That he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced by envy to beg his bread, "Give a penny to Belifarius the general!" is a fiction of later times , which has obtained

68 Of the difgrace and reftoration of Belifarius, the genuine original record is preferved in the fragment of John Malala, tom. ii. p. 234—243.) and the exact Chronicle of Theophanes (p. 194—204.). Cedrenus (Compend. p. 387, 388.) and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 69.) feem to hefitate between the obfolete truth and the growing falfehood.

⁶⁹ The fource of this idle fable may be derived from a miscellaneous work of the xiith century, the Chiliads of John Tzetzes, a monk (Bafil, 1546, ad calcem Lycophront, Colon. Allobrog. 1614. in Corp. Poet. Græc.). He relates the blindness and beggary of Belisarius in ten vulgar or political verses (Chiliad iii. N° 88. 339—348. in Corp. Poet. Græc. tom. ii. p. 311.).

Εκπωμα ξυλινον χεατων εβοα τφ μιλιφ Βελιταειφ οβολον δοτε τφ τεατηλατη Ον τυχη μεν εδοξασει, αποτυφλοι δό φθονος.

This moral or romantic tale was imported into Italy with the language and manuscripts of Greece; repeated before the end of the xvth century by Crinitus, Pontanus, and Volaterranus; attacked by Alciat, for the honour of the law; and defended by Baronius (A. D. 561, N 2, &c. for the honour of the church. Yet Tzetzes himself had read in other chronicles, that Belisarius did not lose his fight, and that he recovered his fame and fortunes.

credit,

credit, or rather favour, as a strange example of C H A P. XLIII. the viciflitudes of fortune 70.

If the Emperor could rejoice in the death of Death and Belifarius, he enjoyed the base satisfaction only character eight months, the last period of a reign of thirty- nian, eight, and a life of eighty-three years. It would A.D. 565. be difficult to trace the character of a prince Nov. 14. who is not the most conspicuous object of his own times: but the confessions of an enemy may be received as the fafest evidence of his virtues. The refemblance of Justinian to the bust of Domitian, is maliciously urged "; with the acknowledgment, however, of a well-proportioned figure, a ruddy complexion, and a pleafing countenance. The Emperor was eafy of access, patient of hearing, courteous and affable in difcourse, and a master of the angry passions, which rage with such destructive violence in the breast of a defpot. Procopius praises his temper to reproach him with calm and deliberate cruelty; but in the conspiracies which attacked his authority and person, a more candid judge will approve the justice or admire the clemency of

Justinian.

⁷⁰ The statue in the villa Borghese at Rome, in a sitting posture, with an open hand, which is vulgarly given to Belisarius, may be ascribed with more dignity to Augustus in the act of propitiating Nemelis (Winkelman, Hift. de l'Art. tom. iii. p. 266.). Ex nocturno visû etiam stipem, quotannis, die certo, emendicabat a populo, cavam manum affes portigentibus præbens (Sueton. in August. c. qr. with an excellent note of Cafaubon).

⁷¹ The rubor of Domitian is stigmatised, quaintly enough, by the pen of Tacitus (in Vit. Agricol. c. 45.); and has been likewise noticed by the younger Pliny (Panegyr. c. 48.) and Suetonius (in Domitian, c. 18. and Cafaubon ad locum.). Procopius (Anecdot. c. 8.) foolishly believes that only one buft of Domitian had reached the vith century.

CHAP. Justinian. He excelled in the private virtues of chastity and temperance: but the impartial love of beauty would have been less mischievous than his conjugal tenderness for Theodora; and his abstemious diet was regulated, not by the prudence of a philosopher, but the superstition of a His repafts were short and frugal: on folemn fasts, he contented himself with water and vegetables; and fuch was his ftrength, as well as fervour, that he frequently passed two days, and as many nights, without tasting any food. The measure of his sleep was not less rigorous: after the repose of a fingle hour, the body was awakened by the foul, and to the aftonishment of his chamberlains, Justinian walked or studied till the morning light. Such reftlefs application prolonged his time for the acquifition of knowledge 72 and the dispatch of business: and he might feriously deserve the reproach of confounding, by minute and prepofterous diligence, the general order of his administration. The Emperor professed himself a musician and architect, a poet and philosopher, a lawyer and theologian; and if he failed in the enterprise of reconciling the Christian sects, the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. In the government of the empire, he was less wife or less fuccessful: the age was unfortunate; the people was op-

⁷² The studies and science of Justinian are attested by the confession (Anecdot. c. 8. 13.), still more than by the praises (Gothic. l. iii. c. 31. de Edifical, i. Proem. c. 7.) of Procopius. Consult the copious index of Alemannus, and read the life of Jukinian by Ludewig (p. 135-142.). preffed

pressed and discontented: Theodora abused her CHAP. power; a fucceffion of bad ministers difgraced. XLIII. his judgment; and Justinian was neither beloved in his life, nor regretted at his death. The love of fame was deeply implanted in his breaft, but he condescended to the poor ambition of titles, honours, and contemporary praise; and while he laboured to fix the admiration, he forfeited the efteem and affection of the Romans. The defign of the African and Italian wars was boldly conceived and executed: and his penetration difcovered the talents of Belifarius in the camp, of Narfes in the palace. But the name of the Emperor is eclipfed by the names of his victorious generals; and Belifarius still lives, to upbraid the envy and ingratitude of his fovereign. The partial favour of mankind applauds the genius of a conqueror, who leads and directs his fubjects in the exercise of arms. The characters of Philip the Second and of Justinian are distinguished by the cold ambition which delights in war, and declines the dangers of the field. Yet a coloffal flatue of bronze reprefented the Emperor on horseback, preparing to march against the Perfians in the habit and armour of Achilles. the great square before the church of St. Sophia, this monument was raifed on a brafs column and a stone pedestal of seven steps; and the pillar of Theodofius, which weighed feven thousand four hundred pounds of filver, was removed from the same place by the avarice and vanity of Justinian. Future princes were more just or indulgent to his memory; the elder Andronicus,

CHAP in the beginning of the fourteenth century, repaired and beautified his equestrian statue: since the fall of the empire, it has been melted into cannon by the victorious Turks 73.

> I shall conclude this chapter with the comets, the earthquakes, and the plague, which aftonished or afflicted the age of Justinian.

Comets. A.D. 531-539-

I. In the fifth year of his reign, and in the month of September, a comet 74 was feen during twenty days in the western quarter of the heavens, and which fhot its rays into the north. Eight years afterwards, while the fun was in Capricorn, another comet appeared to follow in the Sagitary: the fize was gradually increasing; the head was in the east, the tail in the west, and it remained visible above forty days. The nations who gazed with aftonishment, expected wars and calamities from the baleful influence: and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The aftronomers diffembled their ignorance of the nature of these blazing stars, which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air; and few among them embraced the fimple notion of Seneca and the Chaldæans, that they are only planets of a longer period and

⁷³ See in the C. P. Christiana of Ducange (l. i. c. 24. No 1.), a chain of original testimonies, from Procopius in the vith, to Gyllius in the xvith century.

The first comet is mentioned by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 190. 219.) and Theophanes (p. 154.); the fecond by Procopius (Perfic. I. ii. c. 4.). Yet I ftrongly fulpect their identity. The paleness of the fun (Vandal. 1. if, c. 14.) is applied by Theophanes (p. 158.) to a different

more eccentric motion 75. Time and science have C H A P. justified the conjectures and predictions of the Roman fage: the telescope has opened new worlds to the eyes of aftronomers 70; and, in the narrow space of history and fable, one and the fame comet is already found to have revisited the earth in seven equal revolutions of five hundred and feventy five years. The first", which afcends beyond the Christian æra one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven years, is coëval with Ogyges the father of Grecian antiquity. And this appearance explains the tradition which Varro has preferved, that under his reign the planet Venus changed her colour, fize, figure, and courfe; a prodigy without example either in past or succeeding ages 78. The second visit, in the year eleven hundred and ninety three, is darkly implied in the fable of Electra the feventh of the Pleiads, who have been reduced to fix fince the time of the Trojan

75 Seneca's viith book of Natural Questions displays, in the theory of comets, a philosophic mind. Yet should we not too candidly confound a vague prediction, a veniet tempus, &c. with the merit of real discoveries.

⁷⁶ Aftronomers may fludy Newton and Halley. I draw my humble fcience from the article COMETE, in the French Encyclopedie by M. d'Alembert.

Whiston, the honest, pious, visionary Whiston, had fancied, for the æra of Noah's flood (2242 years before Christ), a prior apparition of the same comet which drowned the earth with its tail.

78 A differtation of Freret (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. x. p. 357—377.) affords an happy union of philosophy and erudition. The phænomenon in the time of Ogyges was preserved by Varro (apud Augustin. de Civitate Dei, xxi. 8.), who quotes Castor, Dion of Naples, and Adrassas of Cyzicus—nobiles mathematici. The two subsequent periods are preserved by the Greek mythologists and the spurious books of Sibylline verses.

CHAP.

That nymph, the wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the ruin of her country: the abandoned the dances of her fifter orbs. fled from the zodiac to the north pole, and obtained. from her dishevelled locks, the name of the comet. The third period expires in the year fix hundred and eighteen, a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sibyll, and perhaps of Pliny, which arose in the West two generations before the reign of Cyrus. The fourth apparition, forty-four years before the birth of Christ, is of all others the most splendid and important. After the death of Cæfar, a long-haired flar was conspicuous to Rome and to the nations, during the games which were exhibited by young Octavian, in honour of Venus and his uncle. The vulgar opinion, that it conveyed to heaven the divine foul of the dictator, was cherished and confecrated by the piety of a statesman: while his fecret superstition referred the comet to the glory of his own times 79. The fifth visit has been already ascribed to the fifth year of Justinian, which coincides with the five hundred and thirtyfirst of the Christian æra. And it may deserve notice, that in this, as in the preceding instance, the comet was followed, though at a longer interval, by a remarkable paleness of the sun. The fixth return, in the year eleven hundred and fix, is

⁷⁹ Pliny (Hist. Nat. ii. 23.) has transcribed the original memorial of Augustus. Mairan, in his most ingenious letters to the P. Parennin, missionary in China, removes the games and the comet of September, from the year 44 to the year 43, before the Christian æra; but I am not totally subdued by the criticism of the astronomer (Opuscules, 275-351.)

recorded by the chronicles of Europe and China; CHAP. and in the first fervour of the Crusades, the Christians and the Mahometans might surmise, with equal reason, that it portended the destruction of the Infidels. The feventh phænomenon of one thousand fix hundred and eighty was prefented to the eyes of an enlightened age 50. The philosophy of Bayle dispelled a prejudice which. Milton's muse had so recently adorned, that the comet, " from its horrid air shakes pestilence and war "." Its road in the heavens was observed with exquisite skill by Flamstead and Cassini; and the mathematical science of Bernoulli, Newton and Halley, investigated the laws of its revolutions. At the eight period, in the year two thousand two hundred and fifty-five, their calculations may perhaps be verified by the aftronomers of fome future capital in the Siberian or American wilderness.

II. The near approach of a comet may injure Earthor deftroy the globe which we inhabit; but the quakes. changes on its furface have been hitherto produced by the action of volcanoes and earthquakes 82. The nature of the foil may vindicate

83 This last comet was visible in the month of December 1680. Bayle, who began his Pensées sur le Comete in January 1681, (Oeuvres, tom. iii.) was forced to argue that a fupernatural comet would have confirmed the ancients in their idolatry. Bernoulli (see his Eloge, in Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 99.) was forced to allow that the tail, though not the head, was a fign of the wrath of God.

81 Paradise Lost was published in the year 1667; and the famous lines (l. ii. 708, &c.), which flartled the licenser, may allude to the recent comet of 1664, observed by Cassini at Rome in the presence of Queen Christina (Fontenelle, in his Eloge, tom. v. p. 338.). Had Charles II. betrayed any fymptoms of curiofity or fear?

82 For the cause of earthquakes, see Busson (tom. i. p. 502-536. Supplément à l'Hist. Naturelle, tom. v. p. 382-390. edition in 4to.)

Valmont

CHAP. the countries most exposed to these formidable concussions, fince they are caused by subterraneous fires, and fuch fires are kindled by the union and fermentation of iron and fulphur. But their times and effects appear to lie beyond the reach of human curiofity, and the philosopher will discreetly abstain from the prediction of earthquakes, till he has counted the drops of water that filently filtrate on the inflammable mineral, and meafured the caverns which increase by refiftance the explosion of the imprisoned air. Without affigning the cause, history will distinguish the periods in which these calamitous events have been rare or frequent, and will observe that this fever of the earth raged with uncommon violence during the reign of Justinian 83. Each year is marked by the repetition of earthquakes, of fuch duration, that Conftantinople has been shaken above forty days; of such extent, that the shock has been communicated to the whole furface of the globe, or at least of the Roman empire. An impulfive or vibratory motion was felt: enormous chafms were opened, huge and heavy bodies were discharged into the air, the sea alternately advanced and retreated beyond its ordinary bounds, and a mountain was torn from Libanus 84,

> Valmont de Bomare (Dictionaire d'Histoire Naturelle, Tremblemens de Terre, Pyrites), Watfon (Chemical Essays, tom. i. p. 181-209.). 83 The earthquakes that shook the Roman world in the reign of Justinian, are described or mentioned by Procopius (Goth. I. iv. c. 25. Anecdot. c. 18.), Agathias (l. ii. p. 52, 53, 54. l. v. p. 145-152.), John Malala (Chron. tom. ii. p. 140-146, 176, 177. 183. 193. 220. 229. 231. 233, 234.), and Theophanes (p. 151. 183. 189. 191-196.).

> 4 An abrupt height, a perpendicular cape between Aradus and Botrys, named by the Greeks θεων προσωπον and ευπροσωπον or Alberrocourton by the ferupulous Christians (Polyb. l. v. p. 41.

and cast into the waves, where it protected, as a CHAP. mole, the new harbour of Botrys85 in Phœnicia. The stroke that agitates an ant-hill, may crush the infect myriads in the dust; yet truth must extort a confession, that man has industriously laboured for his own destruction. The institution of great cities, which include a nation within the limits of a wall, almost realizes the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one neck. Two hundred and fifty thousand persons are said A.D. 5266 to have perished in the earthquake of Antioch, May 20. whose domestic multitudes were swelled by the conflux of strangers to the festival of the Ascenfion. The lofs of Berytus 56 was of finaller ac- A. D. 5524 count, but of much greater value. That city, on the coast of Phænicia, was illustrated by the fludy of the civil law, which opened the furest road to wealth and dignity: the schools of Bervtus were filled with the rifing spirits of the age. and many a youth was loft in the earthquake. who might have lived to be the fcourge or the guardian of his country. In these disasters, the architect becomes the enemy of mankind. The hut of a favage, or the tent of an Arab, may be

Mela, l. i. c. 12. p. 87. cum Isaac Voss. Pompon. Maundrell, Journey, p. 32, 33. Pocock's Description. vol. ii.

Botrys was founded (ann. ante Christ. 935-903) by Ithobal, King of Tyre (Marsham, Canon. Chrort. p. 387, 388.). Its poor reprefentative the village of Patrone, is now destitute of an harbour.

"The university, splendour, and ruin of Berytus, are celebrated by Heineccius (p. 351-356.) as an effential part of the history of the Roman law. It was overthrown in the xxvth year of Justinian. A.D. 551, July 9. (Theophanes, p. 192.); but Agathias, (l. ii. p. 51, 52.) suspends the earthquake till he has atchieved the Italian

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throwth

CHAP. thrown down without injury to the inhabitant: and the Peruvians had reason to deride the folly of their Spanish conquerors, who with so much cost and labour erected their own sepulchres. The rich marbles of a patrician are dashed on his own head: a whole people is buried under the ruins of public and private edifices, and the conflagration is kindled and propagated by the innumerable fires which are necessary for the fubfiftence and manufactures of a great city. Instead of the mutual sympathy which might comfort and affift the diffressed, they dreadfully experience the vices and passions which are releafed from the fear of punishment: the tottering houses are pillaged by intrepid avarice; revenge embraces the moment, and felects the victim; and the earth often swallows the affaffin, or the ravisher, in the confummation of their crimes. Superfition involves the prefent danger with invisible terrors; and if the image of death may fometimes be fubfervient to the virtue or repentance of individuals, an affrighted people is more forcibly moved to expect the end of the world, or to deprecate with fervile homage the wrath of an avenging Deity.

Plagueits origin and nature. A. D. 542.

III. Æthiopia and Egypt have been stigmatifed in every age, as the original fource and feminary of the plague87. In a damp, hot, stagnating air, this African fever is generated from the putrefaction of animal fubftances, and especially

⁸⁷ I have read with pleafure Mead's short, but elegant treatise, conserning Pestilential Disorders, the viiith edition, London, 1722.

from the swarms of locusts, not less destructive C HAP. to mankind in their death than in their lives. The fatal disease which depopulated the earth in the time of Justinian and his successors, first appeared in the neighbourhood of Pelufium, between the Serbonian bog and the eaftern channel of the Nile. From thence, tracing as it were a double path, it spread to the East, over Syria, Persia, and the Indies, and penetrated to the West, along the coast of Africa, and over the continent of Europe. In the fpring of the fecond year, Constantinople, during three or four months, was visited by the pestilence; and Procopius, who observed its progress and symptoms with the eyes of a physician so, has emulated the skill and diligence of Thucydides in the description of the plague of Athens90. The infection was fometimes announced by the visions of a diffempered fancy, and the victim defpaired as foon as he had heard the menace and felt the

⁸⁸ The great plague which raged in 542 and the following years (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 518.), must be traced in Procopius (Persic I. ii. c. 22, 23.), Agathias (l. v. p. 153, 154.), Evagrius (l. iv. c. 29.), Paul Diaconus (l. ii. c. 4. p. 776, 777.), Gregory of Tours (tom. ii. l. iv. c. 5. p. 205.), who styles it Lues Inguinaria, and the Chronicles of Victor Tunnunensiis (p. 9. in Thesaur. Temporum), of Marcellinus (p. 54.), and of Theophanes (p. 153.).

⁸⁾ Dr. Friend (Hift. Medicin. in Opp. p. 416—420. Lond. 1733) is fatisfied that Procopius must have studied physic, from his knowledge and use of the technical words. Yet many words that are now scientific were common and popular in the Greek idiom.

⁹⁰ See Thucydides, 1. ii. c. 47—54. p. 127—133. edit. Duker, and the poetical description of the same plague by Lucretius (1. vi. 1136—1284). I was indebted to Dr. Hunter for an elaborate commentary on this part of Thucydides, a quarto of 600 pages (Venet. 1603, apud Juntas), which was pronounced in St. Mark's library, by Fabius Paullinus Utinensis, a physician and philosopher.

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GHAP. stroke of an invisible spectre. But the greater number, in their beds, in the streets, in their usual occupation, were surprifed by a slight fever; fo flight, indeed, that neither the pulse nor the colour of the patient gave any figns of the approaching danger. The fame, the next, or the fucceeding day, it was declared by the fwelling of the glands, particularly those of the groin, of the arm-pits, and under the ear; and when these buboes or tumours were opened, they were found to contain a coal, or black substance, of the fize of a lentil. If they came to a just swelling and fuppuration, the patient was faved by this kind and natural discharge of the morbid humour. But if they continued hard and dry, a mortification quickly enfued, and the fifth day was commonly the term of his life. The fever was often accompanied with lethargy or delirium; the bodies of the fick were covered with black puftules or carbuncles, the fymptoms of immediate death; and in the constitutions too feeble to produce an eruption, the vomiting of blood was followed by a mortification of the bowels. To pregnant women the plague was generally mortal: yet one infant was drawn alive from his dead mother, and three mothers survived the loss of their infected fætus. Youth was the most perilous feafon; and the female fex was lefs fufceptible than the male: but every rank and profession was attacked with indiscriminate rage, and many of those who escaped were deprived of the use of their speech, without being secure from a return of the diforder or. The phyficians of Con- c HAP. flantinople were zealous and skilful: but their xim. art was baffled by the various fymptoms and pertinacious vehemence of the disease: the same remedies were productive of contrary effects, and the event capriciously disappointed their prognostics of death or recovery. The order of funerals, and the right of fepulchres, were confounded; those who were left without friends or fervants, lay unburied in the streets, or in their defolate houses; and a magistrate was authorized to collect the promiscuous heaps of dead bodies, to transport them by land or water. and to enter them in deep pits beyond the precincts of the city. Their own danger, and the prospect of public distress, awakened some remorfe in the minds of the most vicious of mankind; the confidence of health again revived their passions and habits; but philosophy must disdain the observation of Procopius, that the lives of fuch men were guarded by the peculiar favour of fortune or providence. He torgot, or perhaps he fecretly recollected, that the plague had touched the person of Justinian himself: but the abstemious diet of the Emperor may fuggeft, as in the case of Socrates, a more rational and honourable cause for his recovery92. ing

92 It was thus that Socrates had been faved by his temperance, in

⁹¹ Thucydides (c. 51.) affirms, that the infection could only be once taken; but Evagrius, who had family experience of the plague, observes, that some persons, who had escaped the first, sunder the second attack; and this repetition is confirmed by Fabius Paullinus (p. 588.). I observe that on this head physicians are divided: and the nature and operation of the disease may not always be similar.

CHAP. ing his fickness, the public consternation was expressed in the habits of the citizens; and their idleness and despondence occasioned a general

fcarcity in the capital of the East.

Extent and duration, A. D. 542-594-

Contagion is the infeparable fymptom of the plague: which, by mutual respiration, is transfused from the infected persons to the lungs and ftomach of those who approach them. philosophers believe and tremble, it is fingular, that the existence of a real danger should have been denied by a people most prone to vain and imaginary terrors 93. Yet the fellow-citizens of Procopius were fatisfied, by some short and partial experience, that the infection could not be gained by the closest conversation94; and this perfuation might support the affiduity of friends or physicians in the care of the fick, whom inhuman prudence would have condemned to folitude and despair. But the fatal security, like the predeftination of the Turks, must have aided the progress of the contagion, and those falutary precautions to which Europe is indebted for her fafety, were unknown to the government of Juf-

the plague of Athens (Aul. Gellius, Noct. Attic. ii. 1.). Dr. Mead accounts for the peculiar falubrity of religious houses, by the two advantages of feclution and abstinence (p. 18, 19.).

tinian.

⁹³ Mead proves that the plague is contagious, from Thucydides, Lucretius, Aristotle, Galen, and common experience (p. 10-20); and he refutes (Preface, p. ii-xiii.) the contrary opinion of the French phyficians who vifited Marfeilles in the year 1720. Yet thefe were the recent and enlightened spectators of a plague which, in a few months, Ewept away 50,000 inhabitants (fur la Peste de Marseille, Paris, 1786) of a city that, in the present hour of prosperity and trade, contains no more than 90,000 fouls (Necker, fur les Finances, tom. i. p. 231.).

⁴ The strong affertions of Procopius—ετε γας ιατρώ ετε γαρ ιδιωτή -are overthrown by the subsequent experience of Evagrius.

tinian. No restraints were imposed on the free C HAP. and frequent intercourse of the Roman provinces from Perfia to France, the nations were mingled and infected by wars and emigrations: and the peftilential odour which lurks for years in a bale of cotton, was imported, by the abuse of trade, into the most distant regions. The mode of its propagation is explained by the remark of Procopius himself, that it always spread from the fea-coast to the inland country; the most fequestered islands and mountains were successively visited; the places which had escaped the fury of its first passage, were alone exposed to the contagion of the enfuing year. The winds might diffuse that subtle venom; but unless the atmosphere be previously disposed for its reception, the plague would foon expire in the cold or temperate climates of the earth. Such was the universal corruption of the air, that the peftilence which burst forth in the fifteenth year of Justinian was not checked or alleviated by any difference of the feafons. In time, its first malignity was abated and dispersed; the disease alternately languished and revived; but it was not till the end of a calamitous period of fiftytwo years, that mankind recovered their health. or the air refumed its pure and falubrious quality. No facts have been preferved to fustain an account, or even a conjecture, of the numbers that perished in this extraordinary mortality. I only find, that during three months, five, and at length ten thousand persons died each day at Constantinople; that many cities of the East were left vacant,

CHAP. vacant, and that in feveral districts of Italy the harvest and the vintage withered on the ground. The triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, afflicted the subjects of Justinian, and his reign is disgraced by a visible decrease of the human species, which has never been repaired in some of the fairest countries of the globe of the same of

25 After some figures of rhetoric, the sands of the sea, &c. Procopius (Anecdot. c. 18.) attempts a more definite account: that μυριαδας μυριαδων μυριας had been exterminated under the reign of the Imperial dæmon. The expression is obscure in grammar and arithmetic, and a literal interpretation would produce several millions of millions. Alemannus (p. 80.) and Cousin (tom. iii. p. 173.) translate this passage, two hundred millions; but I am ignorant of their motives. If we drop the μυριαδα; the remaining μυριαδων μυριας, a myriad of myriads, would furnish one hundred millions, a number not wholly inadmissible.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

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